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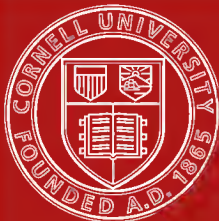
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The poems, etc., of Richard James, B.D.



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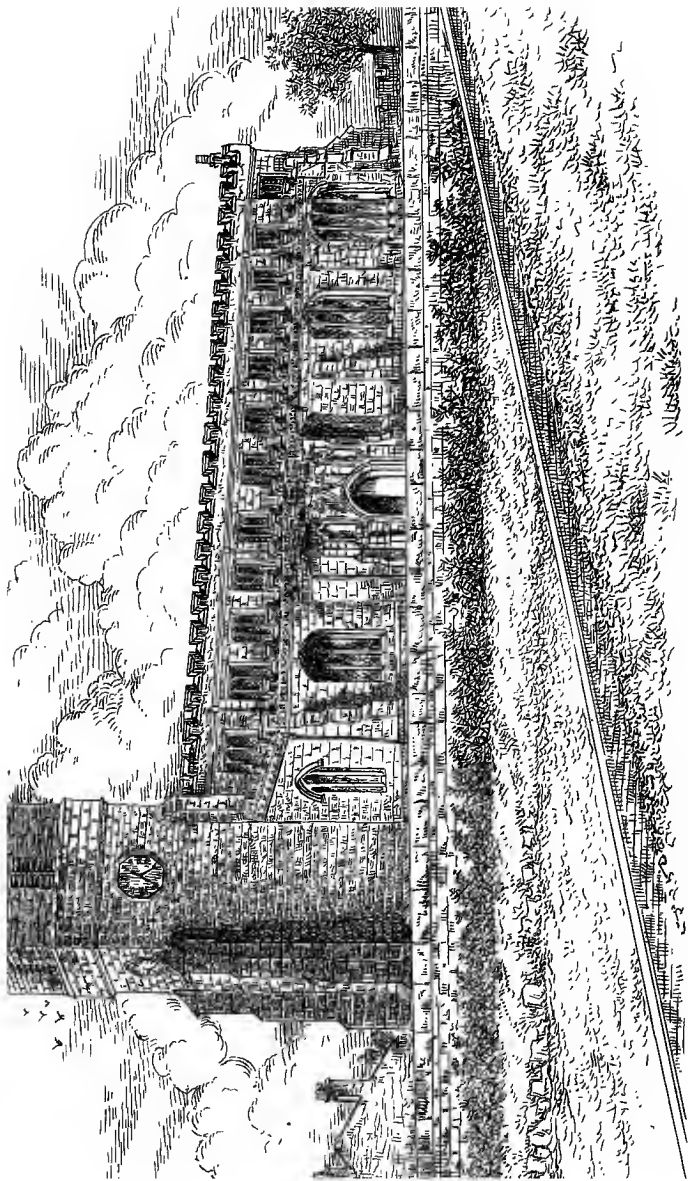
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The
Poems, etc.,
of
Richard James, B.D.



THE
POEMS
ETC.,
OF
RICHARD JAMES, B.D.
(1592—1638).

*Now for the first time collected and edited, with Introduction,
Notes and Illustrations and an Etching.**

BY THE
REV. ALEXANDER B. GROSART, LL.D. (EDIN.), F.S.A.,
ST. GEORGE'S, BLACKBURN, LANCASHIRE.

(ONE HUNDRED AND SIX COPIES.)

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1880.

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TO

WILLIAM ALEXANDER ABRAM, Esq.,

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY; CORRESPONDING MEMBER

OF THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE;

AUTHOR OF 'A HISTORY OF BLACKBURN, TOWN

AND PARISH' (1 vol. 1877), ETC. ETC. ETC.

I DEDICATE

THIS FIRST-MADE COLLECTION OF THE POEMS, ETC. OF

RICHARD JAMES, B.D.;

—WHOSE 'ITER LANCASTRENSE' ASSOCIATES HIM WITH LANCASHIRE—AS A

SLIGHT BUT HEART-FELT EXPRESSION OF APPRECIATION OF HIS LABOURS

AS A BROTHER-ANTIQUARY AND AS A DEAR FRIEND OF

MANY YEARS NOW—WITH NO FEAR—FROM

HIM—OF THE HORATIAN GIRL

——— "amphora cœpit

Infitui : currente rotâ cur urceus exit?" (A. P. 22.)

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.



PREFACE.

THE prompt and sympathetic response to my little circular of proposals for a collection of the POEMS of RICHARD JAMES, from the Subscribers to my reproduction of the POEMS of GEORGE DANIEL (4 vols. 4°. 1878), and of the MONARCHIE OF MAN of SIR JOHN ELIOT (2 vols. 4°. 1879),—was a pleasant sanction of my wish and an equally gratifying recognition of my work on these and others. My experience is, that while it is merely to litter the second-hand book-shops and stalls with cheapened unopened copies, to print or publish large editions of our elder literature—save in very exceptional instances—there yet is invariably found, *cæteris paribus*, a select constituency of genuine book-lovers and book-students for every honest and capable Worker in these fields.

It were absurd to look for very many readers of the present Poems, &c., but placed as they will be in great public libraries and in those of *bonâ fide* students of our Literature—unquestionably increasing in number, both in our own country and in America and Germany—I feel

pretty confident that a 'choice few' will turn to them with interest and gratitude.

As in the Introduction I state, the life-long work of RICHARD JAMES is his "Decanonizatio Thomæ Cantuariensis et fuorum." In my judgment it is obligatory on the University Press as well as on his Colleges (of Exeter and Corpus Christi) to see to it that this great historic book be not much longer left to the hazards of a single Manuscript : ("Heu quantum fati parva tabella vehit.") Of late years there have been not a few masterly works on ABP. THOMAS à BECKET ; but none of their authors seems to have known of James's MS. Doubtless its publication would provoke controversy ; for it is plain-spoken as against the glorification, almost beatification of BECKET that has come to be accepted. But surely it is due to the memory of a scholar ripe and good, and a keen and penetrative intellect such as RICHARD JAMES admittedly was, that his telling of the story and reading of 'character' and actions should be accessible. There are manifold evidences that he put his whole resources and force into the "Decanonizatio ;" and I shall cherish the hope of some thoroughly-furnished Oxford scholar undertaking its editing, annotation, and translation.

"His saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
Munere."—

As invariably, my endeavour has been to reproduce the *ipsissima verba* of the Author's own text—mainly, holograph MS. In this I have been admirably helped by FREDERICK MADAN, Esq., M.A., Fellow of Brasenose

College. I also owe him thanks for kindly undertaking a transcript of the Notes to Occleve's poem and of the remarkable (prose) Letter, "Reasons concerning the attempts on the Lives of great Personages," &c. I am further indebted for collations and kindred assistance to my friends the REV. W. E. BUCKLEY, M.A., Middleton Cheney, Banbury, and the Rev. W. G. D. Fletcher, M.A., Oxford. *In loco*, I name others who have rendered willing aid. It is of the pleasures of such researches and work as mine, that they often bring one into agreeable fellowship with erewhile strangers.

Anything else requiring to be said will be found in the Introduction and successive Notes and Illustrations. And so in sending forth another of my editorial tasks of love, I recall Matthew Arnold's 'Second Best':—

“ Moderate tasks and moderate leisure,
 Quiet living, strict-kept measure
 Both in suffering and in pleasure—
 'Tis for this thy nature yearns.
 But so many books thou reade'st,
 But so many schemes thou breede'st,
 But so many wishes feede'st,
 That thy poor head almost turns.
 And (the world's so madly jangled,
 Human things so fast entangled)
 Nature's wish must now be strangled
 For that best which she discerns.
 So it *must* be! yet, while leading
 A strain'd life, while overfeeding,
 Like the rest, his wit with reading,
 No small profit that man earns,

Who through all he meets can steer him,
Can reject what cannot clear him,
Cling to what can truly cheer him !

Who each day more surely learns
That an impulse, from the distance
Of his deepest, best existence,
To the words ' Hope, Light, Persistence,'
Strongly stirs and truly burns !"

A. B. G.

Vestry, St. George's.

BLACKBURN, *January 25th*, 1880.



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* * * Etching of Middleton Church *To face title-page.*
From a Photograph by Wolfenholme Brothers, Blackburn.



INTRODUCTION.

I. BIOGRAPHICAL.

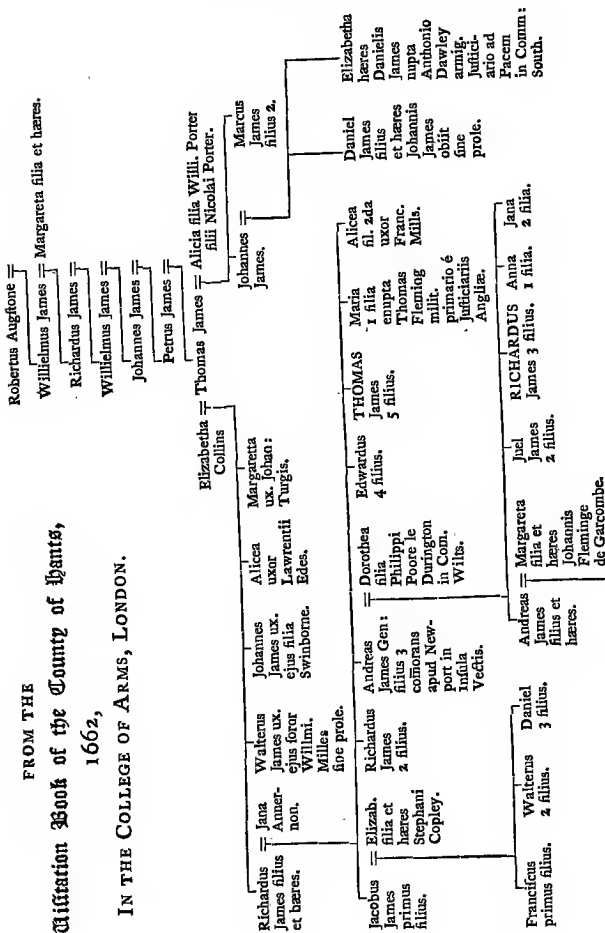
IN an every-day common book, "The Upper Ten Thousand" of Adam Bisset Thom (Routledge, 1875), which I chanced to look into a few minutes since, I find that JAMES is a living name to-day among 'fair ladies and brave men,' more especially in arms and law. I have not thought it needful to inquire whether any of these are to be linked on to that remarkable group of scholars and men of genius, of which my present Worthy formed a junior member. Nor have I been able to discover—after some pains—whether the once popular Novelist (alas! a pinchbeck Scott), G. P. R. JAMES, or the faintly JOHN ANGELL JAMES—a Nonconformist divine still 'speaking' though dead, to a wide audience—belonged to the same family. But it were not hard to show that Englishmen bearing

the surname of JAMES have done England right good service in State and Church. Then, from over the Atlantic to-day, greets us HENRY JAMES, jun., with his fine English and quaint ways and love of the old Fatherland.

Good old THOMAS CORSER, M.A., "Vicar of Norton, Northamptonshire, and Perpetual Curate of Stand, Lancashire," and collector of an almost unique Library,—than allowing the scattering of which, MANCHESTER never did a more discreditable thing, seeing it might have been purchased within several thousands of pounds of its value and of what it actually fetched—in his pleasantly garrulous Introduction to the Chetham Society's 'Iter Lancastrense' (1845) has dilated with scholarly gusto on THOMAS JAMES—among other of his dignities first Keeper of the renowned Bodleian Library by direct appointment of its illustrious Founder Sir Thomas Bodley—and his prodigious erudition and anti-papal task-work, as had ANTHONY A-WOOD before him; also on his elder brother EDWARD JAMES, and another, FRANCIS JAMES—all the three less or more cultured and given to writing Latin verse. To WOOD and CORSER I must refer my Readers curious to know more of these and numerous other members of the tribe of James. Details on them here were somewhat irrelevant. I gladly, however, avail myself of the James lineage as taken "from the Visitation Book of the County of Hants, 1662, in the College of Arms, London," thus :¹—

¹ From the late Mr. Corser's "Iter Lancastrense," *ut supra*, p. v.

IN THE COLLEGE OF ARMS, LONDON.



Passing other details¹ from this pedigree, it is seen that

¹ The following entries relating to the family of James, from the earlier Registers of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, for which he was indebted to the Rev. Joseph Maude, M.A., are given as an appendix by Mr. Corser, as before :—

Anno 1570.

Thomas fleming and Maria James mar: y^e 13 of februaryii.

Anno 1578.

Joan the daughter of Markes James bur^d y^e 16 day of februaryii.

Jane y^e daughter of M^r John James bap. y^e 17 of Auguft.

Anno 1579.

Jane James bur. y^e 30 of Januarii.

Abraham y^e sonne of Markes James bap. y^e 25 of februaryii.

Anno 1581.

Richard the sonne of Marke James bap. the 7 daye of Aprill.

Richard James bur. y^e 10 of June.

Jane y^e wife of Richard James bur. y^e 22 of June.

Anno 1582.

Dowfabbell y^e daughter of Markes James bap. y^e 8 of Julii.

Dowfabbell ye daughter of thomas fleming bap. y^e 18 of Julii.

Dowfabbell fleming bur. y^e 22 of Auguft.

Dowfabbell James bur. y^e 8 of November.

Anno 1586.

Averen James y^e daughter of Markes James bap. y^e 12 of June.

Anno 1588.

Richard y^e sonne of Marke James bap. y^e 22 of March.

Anno 1589.

Thomas James bur. y^e 17 of June.

Anno 1593.

Thomas the sonne of Richard Jeames bap. y^e 7 daye of September.

Anno 1594.

Mary the daughter of Andrew Jeames bap. y^e 5 of Januarii.

Joan the wife of Andrew Jeames bur. the 11 daye of Januarii.

It would seem that the registers are imperfect between 1589 and 1593; else the baptism-entry of our Richard would have appeared.

our RICHARD JAMES—nephew of DR. THOMAS JAMES, *ut ante*—was the third son of Andrew James, of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, who was himself third son of Richard James and Jane Annernon. It is also seen therein, that his mother was Dorothy, daughter of Philip Poore, of Durlington, in the county of Wilts.¹ By his age on matriculation at the University in 1608—as onward—which is stated as ‘16,’ we learn that he was born in 1592. Newport, his birthplace, had a well-reputed Grammar School;² and doubtless Master Richard was there initiated into learning. He must have found the school of his native town sufficient; for he remained at home

¹ The POORES were a very ancient and distinguished family. The ladies of this House have for centuries been famous for their beauty. HOARE (“Modern Wiltshire,” i. 582), besides curious lore on the ancestry, notices a MS. called “Heliconiam Trifles, or the Ladies who performed male and female parts in the Private Theatricals, held in the Close of Sarum, 1777-82.” Among these were Miss Poore, who married General Michell, “and her beautiful and singularly distinguished sister, Miss Charlotte Poore.” It was thus with a good family Andrew James intermarried, and a ‘blue blood’ mother our Worthy had. Hoare, it may be added *in loco*, engraves a splendid Poore monument and inscription in Salisbury Cathedral—the founder of which was Richard Poore, B.A., of Durham, and a Herbert Poore was Bishop of Salisbury.—Hoare, i. 37, 38, 43, 728, &c. &c.

² Staunton, “Schools of England,” tells nothing of it. James’s intended Latin poem on his native island (‘Isle of Wight’) remained at his death a mere fragment. On examination it proved to be so merely introductory and so difficult of decipherment, as to compel our leaving it in its dusty MS. in the Bodleian.

until—as already stated—his sixteenth year. He matriculated as ‘son of a gentleman’ on 6th May, 1608, of Exeter College, Oxford.¹ The just-issued “Registrum Collegii Exoniensis” of the Rev. Charles William Boase, M.A.—a book of the fine elder type, almost obsolete in these days—enrolls him among its Worthies.² He did not remain long at Exeter, having migrated on a Scholarship to Corpus Christi College. His title-pages avouch how justly proud he was through life to designate himself of the renowned C. C. C. It was of no common advantage that from the outset young Richard was under the eyes of his learned uncle, DR. THOMAS JAMES. This remarkable man had a kind of magnetic influence in gathering around him capable fellow-workers in those ecclesiastical-theological researches and resulting controversies which, arid and exhausting to most, were to him inspiration and rapture. The MSS. of his nephew preserved in the Bodleian, attest that his earliest as his latest reading was of the twofold kind of his uncle, viz., among the Greek and Latin Fathers and Mediæval Historians and Manuscripts wherever accessible—with the one *motif* to expose the errors, superstitions, corruptions and impostures of the Papacy, in contrast with the Protestantism of the Reformation. To all appearance Dr. Thomas James literally killed himself in his devotion to collation of Popish

¹ “Fortescue Family,” i. 493, adduced in Boase, *ut infra*.

² One vol. 1879 (privately printed: 200 copies only), index, p. 251, f. n.

texts of the Fathers in search of 'corruptions' positive and negative. Except WILLIAM CRASHAW,—father of gentle RICHARD CRASHAW the Poet,—I know no such intense and strenuous opponent of Popery, or one so thoroughly-furnished with every needed weapon in combating learned and wily and wary opponents. It moves one's sympathy even at this late day, to find how chill and meagre was the response to his urgent appeals to the bishops and other dignitaries of his Church for material aid and co-operative help in transcribing, comparing, assorting, annotating and printing the prodigious materials that he had amassed or knew. But there was no reluctance to burn midnight oil with him, on the part of Master Richard. While still in his teens he must have been an equally eager searcher and transcriber with himself; while whatever else he slackened in, he never changed in his antagonism intellectually and Christianly to Popery. The likes and dislikes and passion of his uncle coloured and shaped his whole career. I am afraid that it was due to the same example and influence that throughout, his studies were desultory and excursive, scattered not concentrated, omnivorous rather than digestive; and so the outcome in both—vast toil with little or nothing solid to show, colossal stones but no building, enormous working but no finished work. For it must be conceded in respect of DR. THOMAS JAMES and of our RICHARD JAMES, that the books they gave to the world are the mere fragments set over-against the stupendous materials accumulated through long years, with well-nigh half as many nights of study as days. I do not know that in this

nineteenth century the type of evidence against Popery on which the Jameses toiled so consumingly is what is needed. Learning plays a slender part, on either side, in 'convincing' of error. None the less is it to be regretted that their learning was not utilized by the Church of England at the time, to the extent at least of enabling them to print their marvellous collections. How uniquely marvellous these were and what an armoury of defence and offence their intended folios would have been, let the correspondence of Dr. Thomas James with ARCHBISHOP USSHER alone witness.¹

Thus put into scholarly harness in almost the very beginning, Richard James was admitted to the degree of B.A. in 1611. He passed M.A. on January 24th, 1614 (12 Jac. I.)

On the 30th September, 1615, he was made a probationer fellow of his College of Corpus Christi. This appears always to have given him a home in his forest straits and wanderings. In 1618 his MSS. inform us that he had then made journeys into Wales and Scotland, including the Shetlands. In this year he proceeded to Greenland and Russia. It is to be lamented that among his missing Papers of those bequeathed to the Bodleian, are his Observations on the various countries visited by him. All that remains of his Travels are several note-books crammed

¹ Parr's "Life of Abp. Usher:" Elrington's whole Works of Usher, 17 vols. 8vo. (1847, *et seqq.*). Mr. Corser quotes from the former, pp. xiii.-xxi. See onward for a singular misprint, overlooked equally by Parr, Elrington, and Corser.

with Russian words and phrases and passing references in his Letters. It was like disappearing underground then to set off for Russia; and as the years (apparently) elapsed, rumours of the Traveller's death reached England. Among his poems one will be found headed "To Mr Anthony White whoe had made an elegye on my supposed death in Rusland." Several of his Latin poems were also written in Russia. It is noticeable how many famous Englishmen—independent of geographical travellers and scientific observers—have linked their names with Russia long before it was really 'open' to us. I name two. There is the still *quick* book of the many-gifted father of Phineas and Giles Fletcher, the Poet, the "Russe Commonwealth," and "Essay on some probable grounds that the present Tartars near the Caspian Sea, are the Posterity of the Ten Tribes of Israel," of DR. GILES FLETCHER.¹ Then there is that "Embassy" of Lord Carlisle with no less than ANDREW MARVELL for Secretary; whose State-papers revived by the present Writer came as so pleasant a surprise to the admirers of that illustrious man, variously-dowered poet and incomparable wit.² It will be remembered also that Milton in his old age wrote of "Moscovia."

It is nowhere recorded on what mission—other than self-improvement—James thus elected to visit so unattrac-

¹ See my edition of his "Licia," &c., with Memorial-Introduction (Occasional Issues, 1876).

² See my collective edition of the complete Works in Verse and Prose of Andrew Marvell, 4 vols. 8vo., in Fuller, Worthies' Library.

tive a country as Russia must have been at the period; nor when he returned. He is found, however, once more pursuing his old studies along with his uncle in Oxford, from (apparently) 1620-3. Of his attainments at these dates a glimpse is furnished in a letter from Dr. Thomas James to Usher (then Bishop of Meath) dated 28th January, 1623. It is a pathetic letter as well; for it tells that his nephew was experiencing already Juvenal's *res angusta domi*. It is as follows:—

“I have traced the steps afar off about *The Succession and Visibility of the Church*, wherein your Lordship hath gone a far journey. I do but glean where you have reaped a plentiful harvest. Nevertheless if my poor and weak labours may any ways stead your Lordship, I would be glad to contribute my pains. I have collected as much as I can find in all likely Authors to this purpose printed; and out of sundry Manuscripts, as Gascoigne, Canter, Mapes, P. de Vineis, Becket, Sarisburiensis, which have been diligently read over by a learned Kinsman of mine, who is at this present by my direction, writing Becket's Life; wherein it shall be plainly shewed, both out of his own writings and those of his time; that he was not (as he is esteemed) an Arch-Saint, but an Arch-Rebel; and that the Papists have been not a little deceived in him. This Kinsman of mine, as well as myself, shall be right glad to do any service to your Lordship in this kind. He is of strength, and well both able and learned to effectuate somewhat in this kind; critically seen both in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, knowing well the languages both French,

Spanish, and Italian, immense and beyond all other men, especially in reading of the Manuscripts of an extraordinary style in penning, such a one as I dare ballance with any Priest or Jesuit in the world of his age, and such a one as I could wish your Lordship had about you; but *paupertas inimica bona est moribus*, and both fatherless and motherless, and almost, (but for myself,) I may say (the more is the pity) friendless.—*From Oxford, 28th Jan. 1623.*"¹

In the words of Mr. Corser, "the deep interest and almost parental anxiety which the Writer of this letter took in the studies and advancement of his nephew, is evidenced from several letters written about the same period to the same learned Prelate."² From these, brief extracts must now be given, as thus:—

"Of my Cousin Mr. Rich. James (who remembereth himself most dutifully to your Lordship) I send a Taste or Essay of what may be done by him. I will say no more of him or it but this; That I know no man living more fit to be employed by your Lordship in this kind than himself; his Pains incredible, and his Zeal as great, and his Judgment in manuscripts such as I doubt not but your Lordship may use to the great benefit of the Church, and ease of your Lordship; may there be but some course taken that he may have *victum et vestitum* independant from any one. This if he may have from your Lordship,

¹ Parr's "Life of Usher," as before, p. 303: Corser, p. xxxviii.

² "Iter Lanc." pp. xxxviii.-ix.

or by your Lordship's means, I know his deserts and willingness to deserve well of the Church.—*Oxon the 27th July, 1624.*" Again:—"My Cousin Rich. James desireth to have his Duty remembered to your Lordship, he hath reviewed and enlarged his Book of *Bochel's Decanonization*, a Book so nearly concerning Kingly Dignity, and so fully opening the History of those times, that I know not where a man shall read the like. I would he might have the happiness that your Lordship might see it, being now fair transcribed, that it might pass your Lordship's censure before it pass any further. And I am persuaded (over-weaning perhaps in love to my Cousin) that if his Majesty saw it, it would please him, having so many good pieces of antiquity in it;—it is his, and shall be my cheifest study.—*Oxon., Feb. 8. n. y.*"¹

In the latter extract, for 'Bochel's Decanonization,' read 'Becket's Decanonization,'—this unfortunate misprint having, strange to say, been overlooked alike by Parr, Elrington, and Corser.

The MS.—a noble folio—of the "*Decanonizatio Thomæ Cantuariensis et suorum*" forms No. 1 of the numerous MSS. preserved in the Bodleian. It were presumptuous in me to pronounce judgment on this extraordinary work with the verdict upon it of one so capable as Dr. Thomas James. But I may be permitted to state that having read and re-read much of it, I stand amazed at the force of brain that has welded together learning so wide and deep and

¹ *Ibid.* p. xxxix. from Parr, as before.

exact, and thinking so intrepid as almost to be audacious, so penetrative and subtle and nevertheless common-sensed and healthy, and sympathies with truth and right and freedom so instinctive and articulate. The resources are simply such as might have been distributed over half-a-dozen scholars, and still left each by head and shoulders above ordinary men. There is width of vision united with depth—as of the sea's fulness, not of the stream's shallowness. There is first-hand familiarity with all the literature of his subject—even in the by-ways of it; for there is the gleam of the golden keys of many languages. There is exactest quotation and reference for all evidence adduced, for all positions maintained, for all conclusions arrived at. There is doubtless keenness of accusation as fearlessness of exposure; but the passion is pathetic and noble, and the informing impulse fealty to historic truth. There is now and again salt of wit, play of anecdotal humour and felicitous interweaving of quaint legend and snatch of verse. The book is massive but buoyant, philosophic yet shrewd, controversial nevertheless judicial. I venture to say that the University Press of Oxford should honour itself by rescuing from the hazard of a single manuscript this truly *Magnum opus*. Besides the finely-transcribed folio, there are volumes on volumes of collections of many years; all of which the coming Editor must sift and utilize. Many Lives of ARCHBISHOP BECKET have been written in our own time; but the real, hard facts of that chequered life will not be thoroughly known until the "Decanonization" is made available. *Totius autem in-*

*justitiæ nulla capitalior est, quam eorum qui quum maxime fallunt, id agunt, ut viri boni esse videantur.*¹

From 1623 to 1629 he continued to work with his uncle, as to the last he sought to secure Commissioners to be appointed by Convocation and by Parliament "to collate the MSS. of the Fathers in all the Libraries of England with the foreign Popish editions, in order that the forgeries in the latter might be detected, and the views of the Roman Catholics in making interpolations defeated."² To enliven these more arduous labours, I suppose, he was wont to throw off his Poems, more especially epigrams and jeux-d'esprit—"some of them addressed to his friends, others called forth by passing occurrences, or translations from any work that he was reading."³ Nor was the nephew, any more than his erudite uncle, fancy-free in the "old old story" of love. Anthony a-Wood did not know it; but Dr. Thomas James wooed and won and married a 'fair lady,' to the chagrin of his bachelor-friend SIR THOMAS BODLEY. Alas! that there remains a piteous letter from the prematurely-aged and poverty-stricken scholar to "good" Sir Robert Cotton, "on y^e behalf of poore wyfe and [seven] children."⁴ This additional element of responsibility and suffering, Richard James was spared—spite of himself. I

¹ The Master of the Rolls' noble Series already includes Becket materials infinitely inferior to the "Decanonizatio."

² Mr. Corser, as before, p. xxii.

³ *Ibid.* p. xlv.

⁴ Cottonian MSS. Julius C. 111. f. 183, quoted by Mr. Corser, as before, p. xxiii.

say spite of himself; for his Poems go to show that his bookish habits had not turned him into either monk or misanthrope; that he had fallen over head and ears in love (if the expressive vulgarism may be allowed) with a lady to whom he gave the Latin name of 'Albina,'—veiling slightly thereby a Miss White (query sister or daughter of his friend Mr. Anthony White ?)¹ He seems to have been conquered helplessly by his charming 'Albina;' but unfortunately the passion was not reciprocated. The verse-incense appears to have been acceptable enough. I opine that the explanation is to be found in a prior conquest of 'Albina,' inasmuch as she was speedily married to a MR. PHILIP WOODHOUSE. There can have been no quarrel, no bitter words or repentment on either side; for the Poems attest that James celebrated the "Anniversarie of Marriage of Mr. Philip Woodhouse." Outside of Dean Donne's love-poems, perhaps no odder celebration is to be met with in its explicit avowal that Mrs. Woodhouse was his old flame, *e.g.*:

"Now Sir, y^e sunne or earth hath circled rovd
Since you were fairely to my *Mistris* bound
In holie spowfall rites."

He had been present at, indeed, presumably performed the rites of marriage; for thus he continues:—

¹ See pp. 226-27. Curiously enough, in Colonel Chester's "Registers of the Collegiate Church or Abbey of St. Peter, Westminster" (1876), we have an entry of a Mary Woodhouse, d. of Sir Henry Woodhouse, Kt., of Warham, co. Norfolk, married after 1656 to Sir John James, Kt. (p. 192).

—————"I then did praye
My blessing on you bothe. And from that daye
Till this, I heare of peace and love no breach."

With all this, his severer studies were little intermitted. On 7th July, 1624, he was admitted to the degree of B.D. Shortly after he was employed along with PATRICK YOUNG, the Royal Librarian, by SELDEN, to assist that illustrious scholar and antiquary in his examination of the Arundel Marbles, which, collected by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, had been given to the University of Oxford by his grandson Henry, Duke of Norfolk. When Selden published his "*Marmora Arundeliana*," in 1628, (4°), he acknowledges his obligations to James in the Preface, characterizing him as "*multijugæ doctrinæ studiiq̃ue indefatigabilis vir Richardus Jamesius*." It was about this time also—in 1625-6—that through his uncle Dr. Thomas James, our Worthy was introduced to SIR ROBERT COTTON. He was the very man to be entrusted with the classifying and arranging and cataloguing of the splendid library of books and MSS. which that renowned man had brought together. While engaged in this (not unpleasant) task-work, he was resident under Sir Robert's roof, and became intimate with that brilliant circle of Englishmen of which the good knight was the centre—reviving, if not the hilarity of the BEN JONSON "*Mermaid*" and other gatherings, much of the intellectual gladiatorship of those grand days. He came and went. While in the library he worked on cataloguing and transcribing and correspondence, wherever

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any antique was heard of that might be added to the Master's ever-enlarging collection. While from home he was still on the outlook. Letters from him to Cotton survive to reveal to us the familiar and honourable terms on which they stood. I am pleased to be able to add here other two to those first printed by Mr. Corser. They give us insight to his occupations and literary and antiquarian intercourse. Unluckily they are undated. I take them in the order of the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum.

I. Not before printed (Julius c. iii. f. 212).

Deere Sir Rob: Cotton. I wish all health and cont[ent]
to you, my Ladie and all your familie, to whome if I had
any joye to bringe, no postillion should outspede me. B[ut]
my life and fortune haue in them to many sad occas[ions]
to make my meere companie pleasing vnto friend[s];
wherefore for your owne sake you will kindly excuse m[e &]
favour me where I rest allso vnwillingly vnder a new [sic]
that is exalted aboue his measure. yet I shall haue st[ill]
ynough to preserve my self as I maye, and the Tant
of his prerogative will erelong beare him vnder or ov[er]
withought my helpe, except he take that sobre cour[se]
which of late I haue binne forced to bestowe on him [tru]
ly. In S^r Kellam Digbys buisnesse I will not be negli[gent]
and peradventure shall by that meanes gaine the b[ook]
of Saint Friswide and other extravagant good peeces t[hat]
are as yet outliers. So againe blessing all my friends
I rest

Yours ever thanks

RICH: JAMES.

To my noble friend S^r
Robert Cotton
at his house by
Westminster
hall these

II. " To my noble friende S^r Robert Cotton at Westminster neere the Hall give these.

" 193. b. Deere S^r *Rob. Cotton*, I shalbe glad to heare from you concerning my late desire & your owne kinde promise for by our new Masters wicked pride and practice[,] forst I am to seeke somme favour abroade, & at leasure to contrive my discontent into this Epigramme

Det Deus auspicijs proprijs ut vivere possim

Morosophi imperijs ne crucier domini.

Det rectæ enactâ rationi lege parentem,

Ne mihi sim imperijs sævior ipse meis.

Det mortem vt vitam naturæ munus habenti

Claudat nox faciles blanda sopore dies.

Quòd si non adeo visum det fata volenti

Ferre animo et cœlum suspicere vt patriam.

and deere S^r, so soone as I may sett warme, & have satisfied my self in somme fewe other readings, thether I purpos à previall ascent by earnest contemplation of Astronomye till the swallowe returnes and brings a fitter season for travaill. Doctor *Tolson* whoe is the chief man with M^r *Allen* desires his service may be commended vnto S^r *Kenelm Digbye* and doth promise this daye to effect the legall conveyance of y^e books vnto him, which the ould man promised to performe the last night at his earnest entreatie. When it is donne, you shall haue farther notice, & I doe assure my self of their serious intention in this parte. In owne of my journeys aboute the territorie, which to deceive time & keepe my selfe in breath I make often, in the high way beyond *Hedington*, I haue found lately an excellent

petrified honnicombe, for which I dowbt not but *Ihon Tradescant* will most willingly exchange any of his books or coynes. So wisshing health to all bothe from my self and my *Lord Haughton* & his brother whoe kindly fownd me out in their passadge to y^e North, I rest

“Your ever thanckful friend

“Octob^r 25.”

“RICH: JAMES.

III. “203. Deere S^r *Robert Cotton*, I can make no worthy exchange of your booke. wherefore I haue again paid the Carrier & sent him backe. pray lett goodman *Gibbs* call for him on Friday morninge & returne notice of y^e safe deliverie. If you will haue à faire mill shillinge & one of the brasse peeces which were made for *Queene Eliz: Irish warres*, I shall send them, besides M^r *Twine* hath à peece of silver of Henr. y^e sixt, as it seemes, with 3 crownes on the reverse. My Cofin *Elfing's* man was yesterday in towne about his Masters knighthood, aboute which heere is somme settinge of commissioners. Many things of antiquitie are mine in promise. if they comme, they shall soone be yours. I should gladly heare somme cheerefull newes of M^r *Selden* & S^r *Jhon Elyott*, & your selfe. Will the tide never turne? Then God send vs heaven at our last end. All my friends with you I beare in thanckfull memorie, & rest

“Yours faithfully

“Aprill 20.”

“RICH JAMES.

“To my Noble friend S^r *Robert Cotton* at his house by Westminster Hall give these.”

IV. "217. Good St *Robert Cotton*, with the kinde futherance of Mr *Boswells* friends I have almost without drawinge bitt runne over the maine part of my buisinesse. Of which in good time you shall hear & see a perfect account, if you please first to lett me knowe whether Mr *Cotton* be at *London* or in the Countrie. So wishing all-ways to be preserved in the honour of your estimation & humbly kissing the hands of you and your *Ladie* with many briefe masses for your happinesse. Forsooth I rest

"Your faithfull and thanckfull Servant

"From Moody Hall"

"DICK JAMES."

V. Not before printed (folio 219).

Sir Robert Cotton. by the returne of my kinde friends
For Holt to London, I willingly bid health vnto you
[and] your Companie, and so soone as I maye gaine any lea
[sure] y^e Bu^y of our Colledge accounts you shall receave
. description of Erle Godwin out of Walter
. little deere Franck againe in season and
. ad If not I pray she may be And . . .
. practicke of my life, I am of so scarce vse
. ough much unfortunate. Yet my heartie
. vnto them all young andould multiplie health
. about my skill or power of phyicians and
. But must be as they maye. And quickly wearie
. . . inge more then ynough to little purpos, hiding all
faults and fancies in the confidence of your goodnesse

Your thanckfull servant

DICK JAMES.

At this point it is no common pleasure to be able to print *for the first time* no fewer than other six English letters from James to Sir Robert Cotton. They are among

the Harleian MSS. (7002). Unfortunately—like the others—they are all undated. I give them in the order in which they occur in the volume of MSS. They are addressed (except one whose superscription is gone) “To my Noble friend Sir Robert Cotton at his house next Westminster Hall giue theise” (slightly varied in some). All furnish further pleasant evidence of the familiar and friendly footing on which James stood toward his patron-friend. The passing mention of Heywood recalls the visit celebrated in *Iter Lancastrense*, and perhaps dates those letters for us. In the penury of James’s English letters, I hold myself fortunate to have recovered these.

I. “Deere Sir Rob. Cotton, I wish you all health and happineſſe and an indomegeable ſpiritt againſt the preſſure of this evill time, which hath as much malice againſt vnderſtanding as men. From you at this time I ſhould not haue parted, if the exigencie and penurie of my life had not forc’d a ſilent retreat into myſelf and my owne home at Corpus Chriſti College; where I feare the contagion of ill and frivolous-condiciond companie will diſeaſe the pleaſance of a faire breathing aire and ſituation. Your Counſell of Conſtance is with an honeſt dilatorie man, yet when you pleaſe it ſhalbe ſpeedily and thanckfully returned with a promiſe from the partie to make ſomme addition vnto your moſt excellent Serraglio of Antiquitie. Mr Twyne ſighes [*ſic*] and Mr Allen is once more voyaged into the countrey. Your ſelf, your Ladie and Sonne alſo my moſt deere Franck and Luce, and Iack and everi parte

of your retinue, haue made me a long and friendly entertainment, of which I shall allwayes beare a singular fresh memorie ; and I praye your noble Courtesie to haue and hold me still at best in your remembrance, which entreatie vppon thought of departure I did phanſie out in this manner.

The poore young Ruffian youth, that ſlave
Was to the Prince, and truſtie knaue
To my deere Harrie Wilde, when wee
Forfooke that Northern Barbarie,
Loe bending at my feete did ſaye
Thancks for my loue, and kindly praye,
His evils, that I would not beare
In minde ; the which none truely were.
This youth I well remember, and
In neere loe manner kiſſe your hand ;
Hoping of gentle Courteſie
You will no worſe remember me.

Your faithfull volun-
tarie

DICK JAMES."

II. "Deere Sir Rob Cotton I will hope y^t little Franck is not greatly ficke ; If ſhe be and it might be ſo available, I would foote it from S^t Mi[c]hells mount to Cateneſſe to fetch her health. The fault is neither mine nor yours, that I am retired vnto my ſelf, but y^e villenage of a bad fortune which will not ſuffer me to ſtaye goe or doe as I haue pleaſure ; howſoever it lies in your power to doe me

friendly courtesie, whereby my patience wilbe the easier vnder our new Master, whose pride, prerogative, or strange pollicie will as yet admitt neither benefitt to himself nor vs, wherefore I am forct to imagine somme money out of the alter cloaths, wherewith to keepe the winter warme and cleanly, whilest I studye the heavens, because of little buisnesse on earth for an ingenuous mans acceptable employment. Mr Neye [or v] did promise to sollicit the bargain from Mr Barowe out of which I would wish to helpe my self and expresse some thanckfull remembrance to my most deserving friend Mr Heywood. or it shall not be amisse to give that ambition of mine a little respite, if you please in y^e meane while to call for my Cosin Carpenter and paye him for me fortie shillings which I borrowed at my departure sending also hether three peeces more. Those fragments of parchment which I sent you last haue somme narrations of excellent vse in my great treatise, so that I much desire them preservd, and I haue since that time from Mr King gained the vse of two Eufham Leger books, which I doubt not, in time shall bothe comme to your freer keeping when the gards, y^e fwoards and halberds, are remooued, whose sight make Mr Twyne as yet scarce vnaffeard. In the one I haue fownd the mysterie de pulchre placitando. and an excellent instance for the prerogative of the Parliament in interpreting the sence of our great charters, if any doubt thence arise, and the other is as yet vndecloued. If you send to Mr Allen somme good greene ginger, peradventure, besides the comforting of the good ould man, it will also open somme

other od corner of Antiquitie. So commending my self into your loue and wifhing the health and happineffe of all your companie I reft

“Your ever thanckfull
friend

“RICH. JAMES.”

III. “Deere Sir At Windfore I found Sir Harrie Wotton abfent from his owne motto which faies *aiās fapientiores fieri quiefcendo* ; but M^r Hales one of his learned fellowes beftowed on me 4 MS. one An Aftrological prediction concerning divers princes in Harrie the 7ths time. 2. an Apologie of William thomas for his Mafter, Harrie y^e 8th, which I haue helpt in the preface from a tranfcript of our publike Library. 3. An Itinerarie or journall of Harrie y^e 8th to Turweyn and Tourney. 4. a Miscellanie booke of ftorie and poefie. To thefe are joynd for companie, the MS of Bede and the lawes of Olfron all made vp together in browne paper and the guiled apocryphall book which you heretofore gave me. Pray Sir on Saturday next lett me heare of y^e receipt for which the Carrier is already paid. All my excellent lovinge friends with you I doe moft heartily falute, and pray my fellowe fervant not to fteale her felf out of your love and protection which hath cheerd and re enforced new life in me [a line erased] of all things. and fo hamperd in the reft . of Corpus Chriffti Colledge buifneffe, I reft

“Your moft affectionate

“DICK JAMES.”

IV. "Deere Sir, I abbounde in leasure, and so on Tuesday last made an outrode to Combe, which is a place faire and pleasaunt of situation if a man may haue acceffe vnto it through y^e parcke; but it hath proved no paradise vnto my Ladies countrieman Odbye or Wadbye, as he is there calld, whoe being not able to drive a waye some late melancholie or disease neither with the Alehouse nor other course, seemes vnto y^e Iurie aboute halfe a yeere since to haue sett all things in order and drown'd both that and himself in a brook which runs betwixt Combe and Hanborowe; yet somme thinck the Iurie hath not dealt fairely, and they all reporte well of the man; and of estate he died well worth five or six hundred pounds, for which my Lord Chamberlaine and the Almener are in suite, if his widowe and a brother's child now friendlesse cannot trauerse and reverse y^e verdict. The place of Combe if it were by a more able man inhabited seemes not much empaird from what you kniewe it; there I saw the holes from which Sr Thomas Elyott is reported to haue bid Iames Dyer not believe his wife, and if y^e man of y^e house comme to London he will call in and give you more perfitt notice of Odbyes death and anything you or my Ladie shall please to knowe in any of theis respects: The Statutes of y^e Savoye and Harrie y^e 7th will, I haue found in my studye and thought fitt to send vp with y^e two coynes of Antoninus and Allectus, which I finde not in Occo. My Cofin Elfying is well, and I as well as I maye, of which I shall be glad if my worthy kinde Livetenant Mr Heywod maye haue notice: from whome on Saturday last I receiud a

letter by his neighbor's newiew. So with a most excellent remembrance of all my friends I rest.

If you thinck my going to Gloufter

may doe you any pleafure lett

"Your thanckfull

me knowe, and peradventure I

fervant

can take a faire occafion.

"RICH : IAMES."

V. "Good Sir Robert Cotton, if you fee M^r Prefident pray will you be glad of his acceffe ; the malignant difpofition of his adverfaries doth yet ftay me heere. When I returne I fhall howfoeuer bring with me fome things that will pleafe you. and my good friend Sir Cripsby Crew alfo, to whome I defire to be recommended. Niews I neither care to tell nor heere. But if you be all well as I am at the writing hereof, all my wifhes and buifneffe for this time is ended in befecching the complement and continuance of your favour into the bofomme of which I fhall fhortly againe prefent my felf.

"Your thanckfull

"DICK IAMES."

VI. "Deere Sir, if you pleafe to write vnto y^e B^p. of Glouter you fhall doe well. otherwife the B^p. of Lincolne doth allready apprehend the buifneffe heartily, and hath written both to y^e prefident and him. We are heere governd alfo by a prerogative, and one of y^e moft vglye favorites that ever imaginerie prince made choice of. Doct^r Holt maye haue amongft vs both loud honour and profit, if he would not as it weare fatally rather embrace his owne fcorne and our injurie. wherefore my brief letanie ftill continues that

God would raise me some kinde friends to deliver a poore captive from the contagion of this brangling Collegial life. Doctor Anyan is gone for Gloucester whence he returnes within this twentie dayes, and promifeth to remember me, but he would rather have me satisfie my self, which I should doe, if to wante of money, the new occasion of our now vacant benefice were not a greater hinderance: Angelica is by the herbalists calld the herbe of y^e holie Ghoste, and some kinde of it, y^e Emperiall herbe, by reason of their mighty effectuall power, against poisonous infections, as you may reade in Iohannes Antonius Sarcenus de peste and Ruellius. the powder of it taken in a quantitie of a peeze with wine at Winter and rose water at Sommer preserves that daye from y^e plague; and so peradventure my Ladie hath retri'd her imperiall powder. So kissinge bothe your friendly hands I take my leave, and shalbe glad to heare of your free health, as also of my most en
Mr Selden whome did recee
 [torn away].

These Letters and the others, and the fact that he retained the friendship of SIR ROBERT COTTON to the close of his life, and died in his son's house—sufficiently neutralize the calumnies of his enemies whether represented by the incautious statements of BISHOP NICHOLSON on the one hand,¹ or the venomous partizanship and mendacity of Sir

¹ Bishop Nicholson, the loosest of writers, in reference to James's cataloguing of Cotton's MSS. says, "being greedy of making ex-

Simon D'Ewes on the other.¹ But by far the most memorable friendship formed by James was with SIR JOHN ELIOT, *ultimus Romanorum*. It has been my privilege to print for the first time "The Monarchie of Man;" and in my memorial-introduction I give account of his notes and suggestions on that great treatise, which its Author had submitted to his critical judgment, as he also did to JOHN HAMPDEN'S. JOHN FOSTER thus reports on a letter of James to Eliot at Port Eliot:—"In one of his letters written in September, 1629, James informs his 'Deere Sir John Elliott' that if he shall not have come forth from the Tower after his own return from Canterbury, he will make it his duty to find out some books to entertain his leisure. Meanwhile he has sent him Cardan and a few others: as to which Eliot replies that he has found therein much that was worthy of consideration. Then Mr. James wishes his dear Sir John to resolve him a point as to Lipsius *de Constantiâ*; which, having leisure of a prison, he will peradventure be pleased once more to read and give his opinion whether in the writing of it Lipsius was not at the time meditating flight from the Hollanders. Eliot's attention is called to the 'whining philosophie' with which

tracts out of the books of our History for his own private use, he passed carelessly over a great many very valuable Volumes"—a preposterous *non sequitur* or a slanderous euphemism; for Sir Robert Cotton made his learned librarian free of his library.

¹ See Appendix to this Introduction for D'Ewes' notice of James. Cf. "Gentleman's Magazine," 1767, p. 335, for account of Sir Robert Cotton's imprisonment from D'Ewes' MSS.

a defence is attempted of the oppression of the Spaniards: grounded on fate, providence, necessity, remonstrance of greater tyranny in ancient time, and what James calls (in the old strict sense of the word) a wicked elevating, or carrying off, the natural affection which every true free heart must bear to his own country. It was a defect, James remarked with pardonable complacency, which he had himself elsewhere shown, out of Boccacini, to be caused mainly by the Roman superstition, and to have been a great spring and origin of the miseries that had befallen christian commonwealths. 'This of Lipsius,' he concludes, 'I did imagine before I ever read him; and if you find not my conjecture true, yet there be many antique peices in him which may please a second or third readinge.' And so, leaving with the imprisoned philosopher that source of amusement, and with his heart blessing all Eliot's purposes, he rests his faithful servant."¹ James likewise aided Eliot with his learning and sympathy and the rare books at his command, when he was engaged on his second great book, *De Jure Majestatis*.²

The proud and pathetic story of SIR JOHN ELIOT it were not in place to enter on here. But it is declarative of the make of man Richard James was, that he drew to him and held a nature so noble. James also felt the mailed hand of the Law. He too tasted of imprisonment

¹ "Sir John Eliot: a Biography," vol. ii. pp. 508/9.

² It is my great privilege to have now in my possession from Earl St. Germans, for leisurely perusal, Sir John Eliot's MSS. of both his other great books besides his "Monarchie of Man."

—not in the Tower but in the Gate-house. For fellow-prisoners he had SIR ROBERT COTTON and JOHN SELDEN and others of whom the King was not worthy. That transmutes the shame into glory, the opprobrium into honour. The thing was simply this—as I leave necessarily JOHN FOSTER again to tell it:—"The King could take no lesson from the disposition or temper of his people. He was simply driven by it into courses more intemperate and dangerous. A singular instance was afforded at this very time [1628-30]. Shortly after his second proclamation denouncing Eliot as outlawed and desperate in mind and fortune, announcing his disuse of parliaments, and forbidding as a presumption even the further mention of them, a tract was found to be passing secretly from hand to hand, entitled *A Proposition for his Majesty's Service to bridle the Impertinency of Parliaments*, in which the sovereign was recommended with grave irony to abolish them outright as Louis XI. had done, to substitute his own authority everywhere in place of law, and to raise money by a series of suggested absolute edicts. It was the reproduction of an old squib that Sir Robert Dudley had written in Florence in the old King's time, and, suiting exquisitely now the public temper, had a great run. 'All through the Trinity long vacation,' says Rushworth, 'did that tract walk abroad, and go from hand to hand, sometime at court, sometime in the country, and sometime at the inns of court, the humours of the author being much enjoyed.' But at last it came to the knowledge of the King, to whom the appreciation of humour was unknown;

and led to the most contemptible prosecution on record even in the annals of the star-chamber. Copies having been traced to the Earls of Clare, Bedford, and Somerset, to Selden and Oliver St. John, all were dragged into that court. It being alleged to have come originally out of the library of Sir Robert Cotton, the library was put under seizure and closed; its learned owner was imprisoned by order of the council; AND THE SAME FATE WAS INFLICTED ON HIS LIBRARIAN RICHARD JAMES. These iniquitous things were done at the opening of Michaelmas term; they were persisted in for many months; the court covered itself in the process with ridicule and shame; and at last was too glad to accept the excuse of the birth of a prince of Wales to direct a pardon to every one implicated. This was at the close of May, 1630; and in the same month of the following year Sir Robert Cotton died. The seizure of his library was a blow he had never recovered."¹ One stands amazed that a proud and free nation submitted to such infamous treatment of her foremost men by such a creature as Charles I. Deposition and exile would have been a mild exaction for violation of law so absolute and treason to the rights and liberties of Englishmen so prodigious. It was one of many elements that drove events forward to Whitehall window and the decollated head. James's poem headed "A consultation with myself, when I was confin'd into close keeping by y^e Lords" verifies the Cavalier's refrain, "Stone walls do not a prison make."

¹ "Sir John Eliot: a Biography," as before, pp. 506-7.

RICHARD JAMES lost more than a patron, he lost a revered friend on the death of SIR ROBERT COTTON. But his son and heir continued him in his old post and duties and trust. He was thus kept within the charmed circle of the statesmen and scholars of the age. All too speedily or mercifully speedy, another and supreme man had also gone. "I should gladly heare," he wrote, "some cheerful news of Sir John Eliot." "Will the tide never turn? Then God send us heaven at our last end!" On November 27th, 1632, Sir John Eliot died.

I may be mistaken, but as I read and re-read between the lines, James's elaborate Letter, "Reasons concerning the attempts on the Lives of great Personages"—for the first time printed herein—I discern insignia in it of the impulse to its preparation. It is to my mind a shaft of piercing light (or lightning) flashed in upon the thought and emotion of contemporary Englishmen. I have a conviction that it was debated—though left undecided—whether the wild justice of getting rid anyhow of such a King as then played the tyrant on the throne of England were not justifiable. Such debates were portents. If they had had a daring man—like Felton—as well as patriotic thinkers, the righteous doom of January 30th, 1649, had been ante-dated by a decade and a half of years at least. Personally James was loyal to Monarchy, as were SIR JOHN ELIOT, HAMPDEN, PYM, and their compeers—even Cromwell himself indisputably—but towards the actual monarch there were, as also with them, many "searchings of heart."

Behind these more conspicuous acts and incidents of his life, James was fulfilling his function as a clergyman by preaching in the University and elsewhere as opportunities were afforded. Various of his Sermons—some in Latin and some in English—he published.

His longest poem—"Iter Lancastrense" not excepted—the "Muses Dirge," was published on the death of King James I. This somewhat notable poem no one ever appears to have heard of until I disinterred it from among George III.'s books in the British Museum. Elsewhere (II. Critical) I return upon it. Biographically, it is to be observed that he is in its title-page designated "Preacher of Gods Word at Stoke-Newington in the Countie of Middlesex, neere London."¹ We must take this literally. He was neither Vicar, nor Rector, nor Curate, simply a 'Preacher' in the absence of one or the other. He never held a resident 'living' in the Church. Albeit, on the death of his uncle Dr. Thomas James (in August, 1629) he through the Archbishop of Canterbury succeeded him in the sine-

¹ The Rev. Prebendary Jackson, present rector of Stoke Newington, finds no mention in the parish register of Richard James as either rector or curate at any time. He kindly informs me that Richard Lloyd, parson, was rector from 1593 to 1629; John Taverner, parson, from 1629 to 1638; William Heath, rector, to 1644, when he was sequestered and succeeded by the famous Dr. Thomas Manton. The curates were the Rev. — Fowler, 1621; William Hammond, 1674. These latter entries show a wide gap, so that Richard James might have, as some say, been 'preacher' or curate permanently in the interval between 1621 and 1638. Certes, the title-page of the "Muses Dirge," 1625, is unmistakable enough.

cure-rectory of Little Mongeham in Kent, to which he was instituted on the 22nd October, 1629. He resigned this in 1635.

In successive years other publications followed; and it may be as well to record them at this point *in cumulo*. I place under each the little Epistles-dedicatory, where these are worth preserving.

- I. Anti-Possevinvs, five Concio Habita ad Clerum in Academiâ Oxoniensi Ann. Domini 1625. Authore Richardo Iamesio Socio C.C.C. Vetenfi. Oxonæ. 1625. 40. [Text 2 Tim. iv. 13.]
- II. A Sermon concerning the Eucharist. Delivered on Easter Day in Oxford. London: 1629. 40. [Text St. Matt. xxvi. 26-28.]
- III. A Sermon delivered in Oxford, Concerning the Apostles Preaching and ours. By Richard Iames, Bachelor of Diuinitie, and Fellow of C.C.C. in Oxford. London. 1630. 40. [Text 1 Cor. ix. 16.]

Epistle:—

To my Noble Friend, Sir Robert Cotton.

Deare Sir ROBERT COTTON, this little *Treatise* hath a long time, (according to Horace aduice) layen in season with my owne iudgement. And now it desires to come forth into the

world's vse, for your acceptance. Pray Sir receiue it kindly, as you haue done me for the space of more then foure yeares cherishing both my life and learning. So, if God's pleasure bee to finde mee out a happie leasure, I shall euer strive to expresse greater thankfulnessse, and rest

Your most faithful Servant

RICH. JAMES.

- IV. A Sermon delivered in Oxford. Concerning the obseruation of Lent-Fast. By Richard James [as in III.]. London: 1630. 40. [No text.]

Epistle:—

To my Learned Friend Sir Henry Spelman.

Worthy Sir, my little infant Workes haue found such gentle easie entertainment at your learned hands, as this reioyceth to appropriate it selfe to your obseruance. Pray Sir, fauour it with the same courtesie; and I shall euer rest

Your most deuoted Seruant

RICH. JAMES.

- V. A Sermon Concerning the Time of Receiuing the Sacrament; and of Mutuall Forgivenessse. Delivered in C.C.C. at the Election of a President. By Richard James B. of Divinitie. London: 1632. 40. [Text 1 Cor. xi. 25.]

Epistle:—

To the Stvdents of C.C. Col. in Oxford.

Deare friends, to the most of whom I

have euer been loving and beloued ; you that haue seen my cleere open conuersation, will know that as I doe not willingly doe any displeasure or injurie to any man either in name or fortune, so without over-mighty occasion I haue no patience to suffer them. And this quality of mine, the reader also will easily gather from the trouble and disturbance of my resolution in this brief treatise. Howsoever both hee and you shall doe kindly to favour my free nature. So shall I have courage, if not in great, at least in this meaner retayling way, to deliuer the fruites of my industry and obseruation to the world's use, and not as I would you should ἀπροποσίτως,

Your most affectionate friend and servant

RICHARD JAMES.

VI. An Apologeticall Essay for the Righteousnes of Miserable Vnhappy People. Delivered in a Sermon at S. Maries in Oxford. By Richard James [as in No. III.] London. 1632. 40. [Text Ps. xxxvii. 25.]

Epistle:—

Clarissimo Viro Kenelmo Digby.

Quod Schediasmata hæc & Mori & mea paucula tuo nomini curaverim inscribenda, facit candor egregius & benevolentia quâ nuper dignatus es quandam meam Academicam concionem. Epicedijs his testatam cupio Orbi relinquere pietatem meam erga optimè merètes amicos clarissimum Cottonum & Magistrum Thomam Allenum optimum senem, qui te hæredem fecerit supellectilis literariæ. Mori autem posthuma ad Academicos Epistola ostendit,

quod pluribus alibi à me historica narratione clarius elucescit, quantà malitià persecuti sint Romani degeneres nascentes ubicunq; humaniores literas per annos plus quam sexcentos, etiam ab ipsa ætate Gregorij Magni. Vale Vir Clarissime et semper amare pergas, qui brevi in studiorum gratiam multa Novo-antiqua tuo favore industriam meam protogente sum in lucem prolaturus.

Tibi omni observantià deditus,

15 folios.

RICH. JAMESIVS.

VII. Concio Habita ad Clerum Oxoniensem de Ecclesia.

Authore Richardo Jamesio *Vectenſi*, Baccalaureo
Sacrae Th. Socio CCC. Oxon: 1633. 40.
[Text St. Matt. xvi. 18.]

VIII. Epistola Thomæ Mori ad Academiam Oxon: cui
adjuncta sunt quædam Poemata in mortem
Clarissimi Viri Roberti Cottoni et Thomæ
Alleni. Oxon. 1633. 40.

Intermingled with these graver studies and resultant books, were lighter ones. The Poems inform us that if he was not actually admitted as one of 'rare Ben's' sons, he had warm admiration, and—as I judge—personal acquaintance with the aged poet. The little verse-tribute to Ben Jonson "on his Staple of News first presented" is extremely noteworthy. This was in 1625. Kindred with this, and probably contemporaneously prepared, was his transcript of Occleve's poem of "The Legend and Defence of Sir Jhon Oldcastell," with learned notes. But incomparably the most important of all his occasional poems is the remarkable—very remarkable—contribution to

the 1632 folio of Shakespeare, signed J. M. S. = as I agree with Joseph Hunter in thinking, J[a]M[e]S. Onward [II. Critical] I put the matter critically before my readers ; nor do I doubt much of their verdict. Scarcely less memorable, alike in its subject and circumstances and actual execution, is the strong-lined celebration of JOHN FELTON the assassin of Buckingham.

A volume of his Letters—almost wholly in Latin—informs us that he carried on an active correspondence with the leaders of thought and activity contemporary with him. We have already seen how inward and kindly were his relations to SIR ROBERT COTTON, SIR JOHN ELIOT, JOHN SELDEN, and others of the same noble breed. His Latin Letters exhibit him in like relations with the men of his own beloved College—as DR. SEBASTIAN BENEFIELD, DR. THOMAS JACKSON, BRIAN TWINE, NICHOLAS BAYLIE, JOHN HAMPSON, ROBERT DIOT, DR. JOHN FLEMING, MATTHEW COLMAR, DR. JOSHUA AISGILL, JOHN SELLER, ANTHONY WHITE, his uncle DR. THOMAS JAMES, his cousin DR. FRANCIS JAMES, his uncle DR. EDWARD JAMES, AMADÆUS BENEFIELD, JOHN MINNE, JOHN STREETING,—all in some way men of mark and potentiality in their day, but that day, except in perhaps two instances, long since gone by. It cannot be needful that I blow the dust off either their tomes or their tombs.¹ These Letters will furnish excellent materials for an

¹ See Wood's "Athenæ," f. n. and Mr. Corser, as before, pp. lxxvii.-lxx.

INTRODUCTION.

Editor's introduction to the 'Decanonizatio.' I limit myself to two—revised after Corser by the original MSS. The first is of rare interest from its allusions to Ben Jonson. It is as follows :—

“ Ad Doct. Franciscū James.

“ Tertullianus, Cyprianus, Chrysostomus acriter invehuntur in artem Roscianam et spectacula. Verū non ducendi eorū aculei adversus tragœdias et comœdias nostri temporis, quæ ut plurimum liberrimæ sūt a veterū illarū spurcitie in quibus etiā Christiano jam orbe, obscœnitas oīs effundebatur, et præter cætera exuebantur vestib[us] populo spectante meretrices, et in conspectu eius ad satietatem vsq[ue] impudicorū luminū cū pudendis motib[us] detinebantur. Sed quod unū nos semper urgere videbitur, induuntur inquit et in his viri ornatu muliebri advers[us] præscriptū sacrae scripturæ: Cui respondeo, institutū esse scripturæ tantū fraudes inde prohibere et vsū communiter, aut si hoc non placet, habeatur aliquando orbi consiliū vestiariorū quod plena autoritate sententiā ferat de vestibus, quæ virilēs et quæ conveniāt fœmineo generi, et vtrū sine scismate permitti queant populo totius Orientis illæ eorū tunicæ, qui nobis habitus esset procul dubio pro muliebri dammandus, q[uo]d vltius reducūt hoc ad præceptū de non committendo adulterio, et propterea neq[ue] jã licere ridiculū est, eadem enim ratione neq[ue] nobis suffecta cū sanguine esset oīo comedenda q[uo]d videatur illud spectare ad præceptū de non occidendo. Credo si reviviscerent jã patres illi libenter spectarent ingeniū fœcundissimi Beniamini Jonsoni, quem

ut Thuanus de Petro Ronsardo cenſeo cū omni antiquitate comparandū ſi compta et plena ſenſibus poemata ejus et ſcenica ſpectemus : cui non Catullianum illud et Martialis ſunt in apologiā. Nam caſtū eſſe decet piū poetam ipſum : verſiculos nihil neceſſe¹ eſt, et

“innocuos cenſura poteſt permittere luſus
Laſciva eſt nobis pagina, vita proba eſt :”

Sed chartam amat vita innocentiorē, ut quam repoſcēt in ævū longū elegantiorum manus, cum pulvis et umbra tantū fuerit tam virginis chartæ pater :—

“Ede tuos tandem populo Joſone libellos
Et cultum docto peſtore profer opus
Quod nec Cecropiæ damnent Pandionis artes
Nec fileant noſtri, prætereantque ſenes.
Ante fores ſtātem dubitas admittere famam
Teq; piget famæ præmia ferre tuæ
Poſt te victuræ per te quoq; vivere chartæ
Incipiant, cineri gloria ſera venit.”

[MS. xiii. pp. 24-25.]

A ſecond is to Bryan Twine—a forgotten ſcholar, thus :—

“Epistoła ad M. Bryonem Twine.

“Sacerdotiū Romanū in Epistoła gratulatoria ad Cyprianum eum papæ nōie ſalutant, illud neſcio quis abſurdus et faſtidieus lector expunxit, reponens alicubi Epiſcopum, cū papa ſit honeſtū ſatis vocabulū ut ex multis patet, et ex elaboratis antiquitatibus Stephani Paſquierei, ſed bruta malitia hujus novi hoīs mirū quāntū ſeſe exercuit in hanc

¹ *Sic*—of courſe ſhould have been a couplet, as in the other quotation.

antiquam et plenam reverentiæ vocem ubiq, quoties reperitur in oïbus prope libris refertissimæ Bibliothecæ Richardi Fox meritissimi Fundatoris Coll. Corp. X. in libris non tantû Theologicis sed et medicis et juridicis, libris et librorû titulis, initiis, medio, fine, ut cû certissimû sit stercoreum hunc Aristarchum nihil preterea legisse, (intelligere recte non potuit talis infantia) verè mihi persuadeam, hanc hōis solertiam non fuisse sine adjutorio et divinatione ipsius Dæmonis. Quare enim qui adversus papam tam furiosus est, non et Dæmonem etiã tot nōibus et titulis famosû apud eosdẽ scriptores, nigro suo carbone notaverit? scilicet hac veniã agnoscit sibi patronû et suggestorem tam humilis veneni: hoc genus hominû fuerûnt qui parentû nostrorû memoria simili zelo martyres fecerunt libros manuscriptos et perire nobis infinitos incomparabiles authores, ut Rogeriû Baconû nostrû de quo Johannes Twine in libello commētariorû de antiquitatibus hujus Insulæ. Rogerius Baconus, inquit, Anglus, ordine Franciscanus Oxoniensis incomparabilis Mathematicus qui nonnullos ædidit ejus argumenti, nonnullos theologicos libellos, quorû qui de victoria Christi contra anti-Christum inscribitur, dignû imprimis censeo qui a vobis perlegatur. Cuius opera oïa graphicè manuscripta, et fortiter compacta, ab ignaris hoïbus, ut erat temporû aliquot superiorû deflenda barbaries, qui se tamen sciolos haberi volebant, non intellecta, et pro necromanticis damnata, longis clavis affixa tabulatis in bibliotheca Franciscanorû Oxonii, blattas ac tineas pascentia, situq, et pulvere obducta miserè computruerûnt. Hoc quanquã ab illis, veresimilitudine boni, ad

supprimenda malarū artiū volumina factū : non dubitandū tamen quin eadē opera atq; ignorantia præstantia aliqua scripta prorsus extincta sūt, quibus etiā viris gratiæ habendæ quod ullis hodie fruamur. Ut isti timore superstitionis magicæ nobis Rogeriū abstulerūt, sic et Antipas ille nequior blattis et tineis, cū suis puris putis congerronibus innumeros probos autores, ut essent damnata charta miserūt in officinas mechanicorum, quod scilicet viderētur lemniscatis et rubris frontibus lavere triplici coronæ [*sic*] septingeminæ bestiæ.”—(pp. 11-13.)

Other Letters in this volume acquaint us with the odd, out-of-the-way, speculative inquiries, wherewith scholars busied themselves in former days. Sometimes lore as singular as any in Sir Thomas Browne's "Vulgar Errors" emerges; sometimes there is the very *fantastique* of ingenuity in dealing with Hebrew roots and words; sometimes there is a throb of indignation with the credulities and tyrannies of Popery; and sometimes there is a ripple of quiet laughter. I should like to see these Letters and the pith of his Note-books—chokeful of learning—worthily edited and published.

'Iter Lancastrense' belongs to 1636; and brings James down into Lancashire and Cheshire and Cornwall, with open eyes for everything, and a self-evident resolution to be pleased with everybody and everything. Hereafter I shall look into this descriptive poem. For the moment I simply remark that it must have been a delicious escape for the recluse and aging scholar to turn his back on Oxford and London alike, and hie him to the salt air and the rural

quietudes of Heywood Hall for centre with excursions planned over a considerable circumference.

His last published book was the following :—" Minucius Felix his Dialogue called Octavius ; containing a Defence of Christian religion. Translated by Richard James, of C.C.C. Oxon. Printed by Leonard Lichfield for Thomas Huggins. 1636." (12°.) Prefixed is a little Epistle-dedicatory to the widow of his patron Sir Robert Cotton. It claims a place here :—

" To my Lady Cotton wife of S^r Robert Cotton of Conington."

" Madame I have received many favours from you, & doe in thankfullnesse present unto your Ladishippe this my translation of Minutius Felix his dialogue, which consists of three speakers, M. Minucius Felix, Cecilius Natalis, & Octavius Ianuarius. The one is judge, the other produces in a flourishing oration all the arguments of the Gentiles against the Christian religion, & the third makes unto them such cleare answer as I believe it will reioyce a Christian reader to understand. Wherefore as the better sort of Greekes, Romans, Italian, French, & others have taken a pleasure to render unto their owne nation what they found worthy in other languages; I in this little peece have followed their example, annexing unto it something of my owne, for neareness of subject, pray Madame let either have your acceptance & know me

" Your faithfull servant,

" RICHARD JAMES."

' Annexed ' to the ' Dialogue ' were three sacred poems, viz., 1. A Good Friday Thought. 2. A Christmase Caroll. 3. A Hymne on Christ's Ascension.

It is to be feared that RICHARD JAMES was often in straits. His Fellowship in Corpus Christi probably gave him an academical home as he came and went to Oxford.

But London, not Oxford, afforded him employment; not, it is to be suspected, well paid. ANTHONY A-WOOD plaintively iterates and reiterates his 'drudgery.'¹ It is grievous to realize how comparatively slender an amount from his Church would have placed him out of anxiety for 'daily bread' and brought him leisure to achieve those works on which he had set his heart. Uncle and nephew found their mother-church very much a stepmother. Even Anthony a-Wood felt this, spite of his characteristic taunt that he was "a severe Calvinist, if not worse;"² for he writes in his 'Athenæ:'³—"He was noted by all those that knew him to be a very good Grecian, poet, an excellent critic, antiquary, divine, and admirably well skill'd in the Saxon and Gothic languages." . . . "Though humorous [= given to humours] he was of a far better judgment than his uncle Thoma[s] James, and had he lived to his age, would have surpassed him in published books." . . . "Nothing was wanting to our author and his studies, but a sinecure or a prebendship; either of which, if conferr'd upon him, Hercules his labours would have seemed a trifle." From certain *memoranda* that have come down to us we learn that his close application to study and confined and laborious life, brought on a sudden attack of quartan ague or fever, while he was staying in the house of Sir Thomas Cotton, Bart., near Westminster Hall, which carried him off after a brief illness, early in December, 1638, when in

¹ "Athenæ," by Blifs, ii. 629.

² By Blifs, ii. 629.

³ *Ibid.*

the forty-seventh year of his age; and in the same month he was buried in the Church of St. Margaret, Westminster, in the Burial Register of which parish he is styled "Mr. Richard James, That most famous Antiquary."¹ In the "Decanonizatio" I found—as pointed out by Mr. Corser—the following entries in the handwriting of Dr. Thomas Greaves:—

1. "Librum hunc cui titulus est Decanonizatio Thomæ Cantuariensis et suorum, composuit Ricardus Jameſius Veſtenſis S.S. Theologiæ Bacc. et C. C. C. Oxon. Socius, Vir integerrimus ac fide et morum probitate inſignis, diffuſæ eruditionis, et cui vere illud elogium trib. Seld. in Marm. Ar.

"Obiit 28^o Decemb^r 1638 ex febris quartanâ Westminsterii in ædibus Cottonianis an. æt[at]is 46.] et in æde D. Margaretæ Westminster. ſepultus eſt.

"2. Jameſi quanto plorem tua funera ſletu
Hic mihi teſtis erit Liber, et quæ conſcia ſlentis
Offendit crebras lacrymarum charta lituras.

"THOMAS GREAVES."

II. CRITICAL.

I thought it might lighten our little Memoir if I placed by themselves ſuch additional remarks—additional to thoſe in their places in the Life—as ſeemed called for, concerning the Writings of our Worthy. Any elaborate 'critical' examination of ſuch were diſproportionate; but there are things in them and of them that it may be well to accentuate.

I have already (in Preface and I. Biographical, pp. xvii)

¹ Quoted by Mr. Corſer, as before, p. liv.

claimed from the University Press, and his Colleges at Oxford, the rescue and revival of the "Decanonizatio" of Becket. I would urge that it is his great life-work. No one who has not examined it can have an adequate conception of the intellectual force or of the prodigious width of the learning of RICHARD JAMES. As ROBERT ARIS WILLMOTT has observed of BISHOP WARBURTON, "That flame of genius must have been strong which shot up through the rubbish and dust" of his "vast heap of erudition."¹ His Letters—in Latin—and miscellaneous Note-books, take us to the quarries whence he hewed the cyclopean blocks of his "Decanonizatio." For myself it has been infinitely pathetic to turn over these numerous MSS. in the Bodleian, thus far thought out and written—in vain. His remarkable "Reasons concerning the attempts on the Lives of great Personages," like his NOTES to OCCLEVE's poem on SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE, are on the same lines of recondite (*e.g.* Talmudic) and enormous learning and reading with his "Decanonizatio." Even his Sermons—English and Latin—have similar characteristics. I should suppose that in LEARNING he was the equal as well as associate of SELDEN and SIR JOHN ELIOT and the great race of contemporary English scholars.

I had gleaned a number of passages from the "Decanonizatio" for quotation; but on reconsideration I have concluded that it were only to repeat the old folly of producing a brick to give an idea of a building, to give from

¹ "Summer Time in the Country, August 3rd."

a large closely-written folio of fully 760 pages, such mere detached fragments as our Introduction could allow of. Besides, as prefixed to his Poems such quotations would be somewhat out of place. The Letters to Usher (I. Biographical, pp. xvii) sufficiently indicate the importance which his learned uncle and himself attached to it. There is an Address "Ad Lectorem" in the beginning, which thus commences:—"Amice Lector rogatus sum sæpius à venerabili quodam viro amico meo, cujus consilio et auxilio utor in re litterariâ, ut ea scriptis comprehenderem, quæ aliquando familiari sermone differuissem de negotio Regis Henrici secundi cum Thomâ Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi. Ecce ergo eâ de re tractatum liberiores, quam ut majori cum fructu percenseas, præfari de eâ et proposito meo paucis operæ pretium putavi" etc. The treatise itself thus closes: "Atque ita Deo favente opus hoc Decanonizationis exegi:—Illi semper sit gloria. Vivat Rex noster Jacobus, vivat Carolus princeps, et si imperio nostro Brytanico intra fines juris et justitiæ se continenti nova illa Carthago insidiabitur, illa, illa cum Papâ et Jesuitis et Puritanis destruat." "

Of his Sermons—published and unpublished—it is difficult to speak without much fuller quotation than is here deemed expedient. I have read the whole with some care; and I admire the judiciousness (to say the least) of Mr. Corser's representative *bits*. I feel that I cannot really do better than reproduce his remarks and selections, as thus:—

"The prose style of James, which sometimes reminds us

of that of the Author of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, is exceedingly rhapsodical and abrupt, and inlaid with a rich embroidery of learned quotation. It is, however, racy and vigorous; and though sometimes obscure and affected, is occasionally striking and happy. The following passage from his Apology for unhappy men, which is a Sermon on Psalm xxxvii. 25, 'I have beene young, and now am old; yet I never saw the righteous forsaken, nor their seed begging bread,' may be selected as a fair specimen. Of three Sermons which he preached, as Ant. Wood informs us, the first, concerning the observance of Lent, was without a Text, the second against his Text, and the third beside it. Probably this was the second, for he certainly treats the declaration of the Psalmist with very little ceremony, and positively denies his conclusion, at least in its literal meaning; in this respect falling into the not unusual error of reasoning on an isolated passage of Scripture, without fully considering the bearing of the context, and its influence upon the true interpretation of the whole. The tone adopted by James is rather a singular one, and seems more akin to that of such a writer as the Author of the *History of the Man after God's own Heart*, than that of a sincere and pious believer such as James undoubtedly was.

“ ‘For the insinuation of a begging speech, *David* might have beene the king of Beggars, or their learned secretary; yet to shew that his righteousness might sometimes begge and not bee satisfied, *Nabal* a churle, so hard as his cragges of Carmel answered *David's* servants and said: Who is *David*, and who is the sonne of *Ishai*? There is plentie of servants now adayes that breake away every man from his master, shall I then take my bread, my water, and my flesh

that I have killed for my sheerers, and give it unto men whom I wot not whence they be? If *David* will have bread from the Iusticiarie *Nabal*, he must leave his humilitie and the beggerisme of a set speech, gird on his sword, and with a party of 400. men, after *Abigail Nabals* wife hath bene put in a flight, thee will come, and bring him a present, 200. loaves, 2. cheroes, 2. great goat baggs of wine, five sheepe ready drest, five measures of parched corne, a 100. frailes of raisins, and 200. cakes of figges. A sturdy course prevailes better then begging. Peradventure righteous children in his sense doe begge no bread, when it is the more trustie way to draw the sword and get better cheere through violence; For when it cometh of meere gift, 'tis not all so dainty; as in the uncivill and unnaturall wars betwixt him and his sonne *Abfolon*, three more gentle countrey-men, *Sobi*, *Machin*, and *Barzelai* brought unto him wheat and barley, floure and parched corne, beanes, lentills, and parched pulse, because he and his people were hungry, weary, and thirsty in the wildernesse. In these Farmers gift there is no wine nor plums for an after service; and strange it is, that a King in the course of his life should have suffered all this; and yet in the rapture and meditation of a Psalm, gather unto himselfe at threescore or fourscore an experience also divers, and say as we have it in our old *English* translation, which delights to word the *Latin* text; Younger I was, and forsooth I yeilded, and I saw not the righteous forsaken, nor his seed seeking bread. גִּדְּוֹקְנִי I yeilded, I grew up in beard and age, and I saw not this or that. But howsoever or whatsoever we heare from himselfe, we see it to have bene far otherwise in the trust of a faithful register; and therefore I must borrow in part the words of Saint *Peter*, and say unto you, Men and brethren, let me freely speake unto you of the Patriarch *David*; For he was both hungry and thirsty, and went seeking and begging bread. Certainly, ever since the first *Adam* did eate of the forbidden fruit, and brought a curse upon the earth, since the earth left quickly to beare bread of her owne accord, even princes and principalities have bene subject unto the terror of those words in the second of *Genesis*; In sorrow shalt thou eate of it, and in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread. We must have either sorrow and care, and paine in getting of bread with our sweat and industrie,

or in eating bread without labour of getting, we treasure up unto our selves the greater sorrow of the gout, stone, strangurie, dropsie, skurvy, and a thousand more tormenting attendants of lazienesse, and for the use of bread we must pay also the tribute of our bodies unto the earth. In sorrowes of mind or sweat of our body we must eat the bread of carefulnesse untill wee be turned againe into the belly of our mother ground, saith God, in the second of *Genesis*. *Pindarus* a heathen Poet hath excellently exprest this sad travaile of our life for bread, where hee saith, *χρὴν ἀπαράπικτες ποτρίδιντε ὑδὴρ κυνὴν παρὰ διὰ ἀντράν*. In this life, to get a pittiful, poore, fraile sustenance, we are forc't to plow both land and sea, or as the Scholiast will understand, for bread or breadfworth whole nations are faine both on the Ocean and continent to draw out armies and squadrons one against another with mutuall perill and destruction. All men must have sorrow with their bread, and some of all sorts must want bread. The Prophet *David* after the Patriarches wanted not bread alone, being righteous, but also many Prophets, many Saints, many Martyrs and Confessours of the truth have been in the like case. *Elias* wants bread and would have starved, without a miracle of ravens and angels to relieve him. *Lazarus* is a Saint of an undoubted Calender, where farre off from the place of torments he was seene to bee in the rest of *Abrahams* bosome, who living was but a poore beggar, could get no other Surgeons then dogs, who came also for want of bread and lickt his soares, had no other hospital then the louzie gate of a rich man, from whose gormand table to his share fell no crummes, a little to refresh his perishing life. And the martyrs and confessors which were stoned, were hewne asunder, were tempted, slaine with the sword, wandred about in sheepe-skins, and goat-skins, destitute, afflicted, and tormented, which wandered in wilderness and mountaines, and in dens and caves of the earth, can you thinke that they were not oft to seeke of bread? Then yet the righteous in this world may be forsaken, and they may both begge and want bread; and we must seek farther for a resolution of our sentence; if first I do remember unto you one most famous forraigne instance of this casualtie; *Belizarius* was a noble and brave gentleman, a patritian of *Constantinople*, of goodly visage and tall stature,

temperate, and compleate of all vertues, courteous to all sorts of men, the souldiers and swaines were at strife who should love and praise him most. The souldier could not want either horse, victuals, or armes, where he was Generall, and so content with their owne pay and provision did offer no violence to the Farmer, nor spoile his labour. Hee led a triumph through the City for reward of his great deserts and service of the warres, he had scowred and quieted all corners and quarters of the Empire, beaten the Goths in Italy often, broke the *Vandals* in *Africa*, brought the Persians under subjection, and forced the fallying Parthians to sit downe quiet from outroads, and molesting the frontiers. Yet this man of men, as some Annalists report, was made by the jealous feare of a wicked Prince *ἐξ ἐπιτιμιῶν ἀηθῆς ἐχάρως*, of an honorable glorious Generall, a man extremely poore, *ὦ τυχῆς της στατου* ! O the unstatednesse of fortune, cries out *Zetyes*, had his eyes put out, made to goe up and downe with a wooden dish, and begge for God's cause, that passengers would give one halfpenny to the poore *Bellixarius*, who had bene a famous and victorious leader of the Emperiall forces, but now had no eyes to leade him the way taken from him by the envy and emulation of the Court. *τεγομε φευ ελειλός τυμνώτερ ος υπέρου*. This brave illustrious Worthy, alas againe, saith *Constantinus Manasses*, was made as bare as the pestle of a mortar. *Φθόνη θήριον χαλεπόν, λησᾶ, φονεῦ, δώκτα, σκόρπιε μυριάκεντρε τιγρις ἀνθρωποβόρε*. O thou fore biting beast, not fortune but envie, thou theefe, murderer, scorpion with a thousand stings ! thou man devouring tiger, thou dragonnesse, thou witch, thou plant of poyson, thou steelelesse piercing dart, how long shall thy tyrant-rage thus continue in confounding the courses of human life ? So passionate is he in his briefe history. So long as envy and malice live, whilest there be in the world usurers, oppressors, pyrats, robbers, fires, deluges, stormes, plagues, famines, warres, foolish Princes, favorites, undeserving and religious impostours, there will never be wanting woe and distresse to the best men.'

"It is curious to observe the remarkable and strange material which was introduced into the Sermons of that period ; and of all eccentric preachers, perhaps few were

more distinguished in that way than James, who was accounted so even in his own times, as we learn from Ant. Wood. Of two manuscript Sermons still preserved among his collections, the first, which is on the Text of John xii. 32, 'And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me,' originally concluded with a Poem of his own, which will be given hereafter, called 'a Hymne on Christ's Ascension,' and introduced thus:—

"'For God, saith the Apostle, hath concluded all in unbelief, that he might have mercie on all. All must be shutt in unbelief, and all believe. St. Peter did on this consideration fall into a rapture of admiration of God's wayes past finding out; and in such manner with your leave, will I utterly end in a Sonnet of praise and meditation upon this solemnitie, least in much speed upon so high a subject, I loose myself: and the Sonnet is this:

To thy passion and thy birth
Blest Lord, I have, &c.'

"The other Sermon, on James v. 14, among much similar matter, contains the following singular passage:—

"'Casually the Prophets and the Apostles have raised men to life by stretching themselves forth upon their bodies. And so would St. Bernard the white Moncks Angell pretend to doe upon a Marquis his sonne of Burgundie, and Gualther the Erle of Namours whoe was alreadie buried in a Charterhouse Priorie. But the first was not effected, and for the second the story is, Convolavit dompnus Bernardus ad sepulchrum illud et cum diutissime prostratus orasset, oravit eum prior ut pranderet, erat vi. hora. Cui Barnardus, non recedam inquit donec misetis loquatur pater Galterus, et exclamavit voce magnâ Galtere, veni foràs. Galterus autem quia non audivit vocem Jesu non habuit aures Lazari et non venit. Manie such like remembrances were once had at y^e table of Gilbert Foliot Bishop of London concerning Saint Bernards hypocriticall affectation of

miracles. Hypocrisie was the verie Genius of theis moncks and friers, by which they beguild the noblemen of their lands, the clergie of their parishs, diverting them to y^e use of their infirmarie, their kitchen, their after service, the whole villadge of Kudsdene to a wine feller: And their lives so Antarktique were to all earnest pietie, as I wonder not if ould Piers Plowman did long since designe for them the revengde of Harrie y^e 8th when he says

“Then y^e Abbot of Abingdon with all his Freeres
Shall haue a knocke of a king.”

“And as theis Moncks and Friers, so their Bishops also wanted not their wayes of dissimulation in this kinde; for which they are reprehended by our thrice Chancelour Thomas Gascoigne in his Theologicall Dictionary. In the times of persecution Apostolicall men being forced to liue à wandering life used long pelches of gotes and sheepe, to secure them against the wether, wherefore, saith he, for resemblance our Bishops weare long traines of sattin, and our gentlewomen take the fashon and a great dust is everie where stirrd up. But of all impostures for villanie and atheisme, give us the ceremonie of the Popes owne holinesse. When he crownes the Emperour auncientlie in Rome, he leades him up to à mountaine called Monte Magiore and from thence turning round saies, *Hæc omnia tibi dabo*. With the devill he pretends title to all the earth, and the power thereof, and both the swards, and yet in his owne coronation see what povertie, as it is exprest, in their owne *Ordo Romanus*.”

“And yet at times James could rise with his subject, and use even elegant and sublime language, as the conclusion to one of his printed Sermons on the Eucharist will abundantly show:—

“What a Priest must doe, if after the consecration he finde no wine in the Chalice. What a Priest ought to doe, if after the consecration he see flesh or a little young boy in the Sacrament. What man not given ouer to a reprobate sense, will not easily understand the illusion of these men, stuffing their missals and ceremoniall bookes

with so many impertinent vanities, so many foolish and darke imaginations, refusing as the Gentiles did before them, to see clearly the invisible power of God in the visibility of his creation, changing the truth of God unto a lye, and worshipping and serving the creature more then the Creator, who is blessed for ever: with these propositions I desire not to moue laughter, but both in my selfe and you a sad disdaine of the most foolish Cimmerian darknesse, which the Roman tyranny had drawne ouer our senses, our reason, our judgment, and all the intellectuall faculties of the soule, which in the dayes of our Ancestors was at the reuolution of this feast to combat with so many meteors of Diuinity. The irreligion, the violence, the presumption of the Roman Church in this part is infinite. Christ said at the Pascheouer that *he would no more drinke of the fruit of the vine vntill the kingdome of God be come.* And they at all aduentures in their kingdome haue hurld him into the cup. He said he would no more eat the bread, and they make him deuoure it. *He tooke bread, and hee tooke wine, and said, this bread and this cup is my new Testament.* And they say no, here is neither this nor that, but in visible sensible bread nothing is, but Christ inuisible. Wee see not that which is, and what wee see, that is nothing. Yes, in this nothing with them, Christ is fully as long and broad, and corpulent as at the day of his passion, receiued in whole, and euery part and crumme entirely into the narrownesse of our mouthes. They read riddles, and not Sacraments. *Christ tooke bread, and brake it when he had giuen thanks, and gaue it to his Disciples,* and they take bread, and by consecration make a Metamorphosis of substance, and then aduise in their leud treatises how they may breake the white round accident of their Sacramentall Wafer without plucking and tearing asunder a legge or arme of Christ. These and the like blasphemies when to establish against our Wickliffe the Friars and Bishops had gathered themselves together at Poules in London, heare of that reuerend man what happened.

For I dare truly say, saith he, that if these things were sothe, Christ and his Saints dyed hereticks and the more parte of holy Kirke bitewed now heresie. And therefore deuout men suppoen

that this counsell of *Freris* at London was with erthdyn : for they put an heresie upon *Christ* and *Sentis* in heuene, wherefore the earth trembled, and (*flaylande mans boite*) answered for God, as it did in time of his passion, when hee was dambned to bodily death.

The earth euer shakes when any violence is pretended to his body. After he had once yeelded up the Ghost of our mortality, his body resurrectiue both of himselfe and vs, by that signe leades captiuitie captiue. He cried with a loud voyce, and yeelded up the Ghost, and behold the vaile of the Temple was rent in twaine, and the earth did quake, and the stones were clouen, and the graves did open themselves, and many bodies of the Saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection. *Ioseph* of *Arimathea*, an honourable Senatour, desires in loue to conserue his body in a new tombe, which hee had hewed out in a rocke, and for that purpose rolled a great stone to the doore of the Sepulchere. The Priests and Pharises asssembled to *Pilate*, and to make all more sure, scale the stone, and gard it with a watch, but in the dawning of this day there was againe a great earth-quake; The Angell descended from heauen, and rolled backe the stone from the doore, and sat upon it, and for feare of him, the keepers were astonied, and became as dead men. Aske our Stories, and also a third time when the Friers at London will imprison his body in bread, or drowne it in the Chalice, the earth shakes anew. Let vs therefore rather heare the voyce of the Angell vnto the women; Surrexit, non est hic. *Iesus* of *Nazareth*, which on Good-Friday was crucified on the Crosse at *Ierusalem* by the *Jewes*; which is, so much as in them lies, still crucified by the degenerous *Romans* in their prostitute Sacrament: hee is risen, hee is not here, hee is entred into heauen, hee is made higher then the heauens, hee sits at the right hand of Maiestie in the glory and blisse of heauen. Gaze wee must not any more after a vision of *Christ's* body, vntill in a second fulnesse of time it shall please him againe to defend and repaire the ruines of this world into an eternall renouation. Euen at that time the powers of heauen shall be shaken, and wee shall see the Sonne of Man come in a cloud with power and great glorie. For the Lord himselfe, saith Saint *Paul*, shall descend

from heauen with a shout, and with the voyce of the Archangell, and with the trumpet of GOD; and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then shall wee which liue and remaine be caught up with them also in the clouds, to meete the LORD in the aire; and so shall wee euer be with the LORD. Wherefore comfort yourselves one another with these words. And againe, vntill the consummation of that day, reioyce in the mysterie of this, from the words of the same Apostle: *GOD is manifested in the flesh, iustified in the Spirit, seene of Angells, believed on in the world, and received vp in Glory.*'"

Turning now to the Poems, by far the most noticeable—and it is very noticeable—is that “of Shakespeare” from the folio of 1632. The first to assign it to JAMES was the late JOSEPH HUNTER, as follows in his “New Illustrations of Shakespeare:”—“Verses by J. M. S. on Shakespeare.—It has recently occurred to me, that a more probable conjecture than any that has yet been propounded is, that J. M. S. is *James*, JAMES; and that the author of these noble lines, so long sought in vain, is no other than Richard James, the Fellow of Christ’s College, Oxford, of whom we have had occasion to speak as affording a testimony respecting the substitution of Falstaff for Oldcastle, in the Play of *King Henry the Fourth*. (See vol. ii. p. 41.) James was a friend of Selden and Sir Robert Cotton, and exhibited in various ways that antiquarian and historical turn of mind which is visible in the author of the verses in question. He was also an eminent classical scholar, as the author of these verses appears to have been: ‘a very good Grecian,’ says Wood, ‘Poet, an excellent Critic, Antiquary, Divine.’ The only poem known to be his, with which I am acquainted, is a piece of familiar verse, entitled *Iter Lancastrense*,

foon to be published by the Chetham Society [published in 1845]. In this poem we perceive the same disposition to view every thing under its antiquarian aspect which we find in J. M. S., and there are in both poems the artifice of abrupt breaks in the midst of the lines of the English hexameter. I have not had time to seek out other poems by Richard James, the idea that he was the author of those lines having but just occurred to me. Other poems of his are in manuscript in the Bodleian. There is a promise of power, not unequal to that which produced this noblest tribute to Shakespeare yet paid to him, in the opening lines of a poem written in the time of his imprisonment, given by Wood—

“ ‘ Dear God, by whom in dark wombe’s shade
I am to fear and wonder made,’ &c.

At all events, I throw out the hint of this probability, which appears the stronger the more I consider it.”

Mr. Corser rejects the James authorship; but, as we shall see, on extremely weak and inexact grounds. He thus puts it :—

“ We have seen that James was intimate with one of the leading dramatists of the time. He was also a contemporary of Shakespeare, and it has been supposed that to him are to be attributed the noble lines ‘ On worthy Master Shakespeare and his Poems,’ signed J. M. S., which were first printed in the second folio edition of 1632. These initials have usually been assigned to ‘ Jasper Mayne, Student,’ but Mr. Hunter, in his *New Illustrations of Shakespeare*, p. 310, has conjectured that J. M. S. is

JaMeS, and that the unknown author of this tribute to Shakespeare, is no other than our author, Richard James. We cannot but think this conjecture exceedingly unfounded and improbable, for though there is an obscurity and abruptness in some of James's Verses not very unlike the style of these; yet there is no poem from his pen, not even the lines written during his imprisonment, which are at all equal in power or sublimity to the lines on Shakespeare. Moreover, it is nearly certain, that had they been written by James, they would have been preserved in his own hand-writing, among his other MSS., as every other piece of poetry that he wrote, even to the smallest epigram, is to be found in that collection. If Jasper Mayne was unequal to their production, we think that James was much more so. The former, we know, was a finished scholar; and was also accustomed to that style of writing, (witness his lines prefixed to Cartwright's Poems,) and of which we have other verses by him, not much unlike them, though considerably inferior. It is on the last account that we should even doubt Mayne's title to them. It must be recollected that, after all, the question is exclusively one of conjecture and critical judgment; and, in the absence of any positive evidence, we should be almost inclined to believe that Milton may more reasonably be considered as the writer. Those verses are not unworthy the author of 'Paradise Lost.'"

To this I answer—taking the last thing first—

I. That MILTON was not the author is demonstrated not

only by his reclaiming of every slightest copy of *Verfes* that he had ever written, but specifically by his reclaiming other noble yet inferior anonymous *Lines* contributed to the same volume, and never these. It betrays singular unacquaintance with Milton's character to suppose that had he been the Author, he would have excluded such a poem from his collected *Poems*. And yet Mr. J. Payne Collier "feels morally certain" that the poem is Milton's!

- II. JASPER MAYNE was equally careful with Milton in reclaiming his most fugitive productions; but he has nowhere claimed this poem for his own. With his name in full to so much of uttermost trash—in *Sermon* and *Play* form alike and to trivial *Verfes*—he was not the man to have lived on until 1672 without letting it be known that he was the author of this poem had he been so. No one who has read Mayne's productions will hesitate in pronouncing him incapable of such a poem. There is not a scintilla of its characteristics in all he has written.

Mr. Bolton Corney pointed out to Mr. Dyce the following:—

- (1.) On "Dr. Donne's death: by Mr Mayne of Christ-Church in Oxford," 80 lines, among the "Elegies upon the Author" appended to *Poems*. By J. D., with *Elegies on the Author's Death*, 1633 (4°).

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- (2.) Three copies of *Verfes* in the following order,—
 “To the Queene,” 12 lines; “To the King,”
 36 lines; “To the Queene,” 48 lines,—the laſt
 copy ſigned “Jaſper Mayne, M.A. of Chriſt-
 Church” in *Vitis Carolinæ Gemma Altera five*
Auſpicatiſſima Ducis Eboracenſis Genethliaca
decentata ad vada Ifidis, 1633 (4°).
- (3.) A copy of (Engliſh) *verfes*, 48 lines, ſigned
 “Jaſper Mayne M.A. ex Æde Chr.” in *Muſæ-*
rum Oxonenſium pro Rege ſvo Soteria, &c.,
 1633 (4°).

Be it obſerved in reference to all theſe that (1) they are ſigned in full by Mayne; that (2) in 1632 he was not a ‘ſtudent’ but a clergyman in full orders, whereas Malone’s and Corney’s interpretation of J. M. S. is Jaſper Mayne, Student; that (3) the *Verfes* are the pooreſt of the poor. (See Dyce’s *Shakeſpeare*, 3rd edit. vol. i. p. 169.)

III. It is not the fact that among the Bodleian MSS. he has “preſerved in his own handwriting every other piece of poetry that he wrote, even to the ſmalleſt epigram.” My preſent collection of his Poems is proof of the contrary, *e.g.* his long poem of “The Muſes Dirge” is not preſerved among his MSS. or books. More important ſtill, his poem on Felton and Buckingham, which moſt nearly approaches the Shakeſpeare poem, is not to be found there. And ſo with other things in verſe and proſe.

- IV. The anonymity of the poem on Felton and the semi-anonymity of the poem on Shakespeare are to be accounted for by the circumstances under which they were composed. These were, in reference to the former, that it was perilous to avow sympathy with the striking-down of *the* Favourite, Buckingham; in reference to the latter, that in 1632 he was Rector of Little Mongeham, and might not care to have his name associated with a 'Play' book, or the theatre. Moreover, in 1632 he would not be at all wishful to be in men's mouths, as being still 'suspect' through the proceedings in connection with Sir Robert Cotton's and his own imprisonment. It is simple biographical-historical fact that from 1629-32 he elected to live in almost absolute privacy, seeking to be known only as a clergyman. I can very well understand therefore how he was led to think that it should open the mouths of the goody to be publicly known as the author of this tribute to Shakespeare contemporaneously with publishing "A Sermon concerning the Time of Receiving the Sacrament and of Mutuall Forgiveness," and "An Apologeticall Essay for the Righteousnes of Miserable Vnhappy People." Both of these—be it noted—were published in 1632, the year of the second folio.
- V. J. M. S. as = James without the vowels was a semi-revelation to the friends he would inform, and it was customary for authors to give simply their surname,

e.g. Henry Vaughan the Silurist signs 'Vaughan.' There is this also to be kept in mind that these letters J. M. S. answer to no known contemporary capable of writing the poem. John Milton and Jasper Mayne are placed out of court (*meo judicio*) by what I have brought forward *supra* (I.); but were it otherwise J[ohn] M[ilton], S[tudent], or J[asper] M[ayne], S[tudent], are far-fetched compared with JaMeS. *En passant*, there was nothing in the cases of either of these to call for anonymity. In James's case there was everything (*ut supra*), not to say that one so disowned in 'high places' no Publisher would be very eager to make known.

- VI. The Bodleian MSS. show that James was used thus to contract names and words.
- VII. Granted to Mr. Corser, "that, after all, the question is one of conjecture and critical judgment." But for my part I cannot imagine any one after studying James's Poems in their recurring words and turns and pauses, and conceits and veins of quaint thinking, standing in doubt as to the James authorship of this poem. The poem on FELTON—on CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH—on his IMPRISONMENT—on BEN JONSON's "STAPLE OF NEWS"—and others of the Bodleian MSS. now first printed, I commend to the deliberate study of my Readers. Even in the somewhat chaotic pieces (in English) from his Letters, there will be found touches that exactly correspond with others in

the poem on Shakespeare. Summarily—Alike in its irregular greatness and defects, substantive strength and incidental weaknesses, powerful conception and partial failure of expression, thoughtfulness and impulsiveness, this remarkable poem carries in it the characteristics of RICHARD JAMES.

I am glad to be able to strengthen my acceptance of the James authorship with the well-weighed words of one who will be recognized by all as admirably qualified to pronounce a judicial verdict—my honoured friend JAMES CROSSLEY, Esq. F.S.A., Manchester. He thus writes in his Introduction to ROBERT HEYWOOD'S "Observations and Instructions Divine and Moral" (1869):—"He [Richard James] was a poet, and a poet of no inferior order. It is difficult indeed to read his fine lines addressed to Felton without being irresistibly led to the conclusion that the admirable poem on Shakespeare with the initials 'J. M. S.' in the second folio, and which still remains unsurpassed amongst the countless tributes to his memory, was the production of the same pen." Further: "This is scarcely the place to discuss the question of the authorship of these lines on which so great a difference of opinion has existed. The reader may, however, be referred for the lines addressed to Felton, to Sir James Balfour's *Historical Works*, vol. ii. p. 174, and Mr. Fairholt's *Poems and Songs relating to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham* (Percy Society, 1850). That the lines were written by James we have the contemporary evidence of Balfour, and the following passage

in James's poetical address to Albina (*Iter Lanc.* Introd. p. xli) clearly points to a future philippic against the Duke, from his pen, as the 'friend of Spain:'

"Sometime to please your high disdain
I'll strike the mighty friend of Spain
With such growne vengeance as did ne'er
Beat from Alcæus quill the ear
Of Greeks."

James's praise of Ben Jonson in his verses "On the Staple of News first presented" (*"Iter Lanc."* Introd. pp. lxvi-vii) is quite as happy and well discriminated as that in the noble lines on Shakespeare:

"When vulgar loose their sight and sacred peers
Of poetry conspire to make your years
Of memory eternal, THEN BE READ
By all our race of Thespians.—Board and bed
And bank and bower, valley and mountain will
Rejoice to know some pieces of your skill.
*Your rich Mosaic works, inlaid by art
And curious industry, with every part
And choice of all the Ancients.*" (Pp. xviii-xix.)¹

Mr. Hunter has called attention to unauthorized 'improvements' of this poem on Shakespeare, as thus:—"This

¹ For few living Shakespearean scholars have I greater regard than Dr. Ingleby; but his suggestion that I. M. S. is = *In Memoriam Scriptoris*, needs only to be thought over for a few minutes to insure its rejection along with its supposititious rivalry with Jonson's poem. I admire that one so feeling as Dr. Ingleby should not perceive the incredible bathos of 'Scriptoris' from one capable of producing such a tribute. But see "Centurie of Praise," as re-edited by Miss L. Toulmin Smith (1879), pp. 192-3.

poem, like that of James, has had the hard fate of being altered by injudicious editors, or rather of being corrupted, owing to the want, as it seems, of just critical acumen. A clause in it is usually printed thus:—

“While the plebeian imp, from lofty throne
Creates and rules a world, and works upon
Mankind by secret engines; now to move
A chilling pity, then a rigorous love;
To strike up and strike down, both joy and ire;
To steer the affections; and by heavenly fire
Mould us anew, stoln from ourselves:—

This—and much more, which cannot be express’d
But by himself, his tongue, and his own breast,—
Was Shakespeare’s freehold.”

As thus printed, the heavenly fire which moulds us anew is stolen from ourselves. But such was not the intention of the poet. It was Shakespeare’s own heavenly fire which was to re-create us, to give us another life and soul, stealing us from ourselves. “Stol’n from ourselves——” is a broken line. The poet was going on to describe the effect, but he checks himself, and goes on as we find it above. This will clearly be perceived to be his intention when we read the lines as they appear in the original edition—

“and by heavenly fire
Mould us anew. Stol’n from ourselves——
This—and much more which cannot be expressed,” &c.¹

Next in importance and interest to the poems on SHAKESPEARE and on FELTON comes OCCLEVE’S poem,

¹ “New Illustrations,” &c., as before, vol. ii. pp. 311-12.

with James's epistle-dedicatory and notes and illustrations. The editors and commentators of Shakespeare, *e.g.* HALLIWELL, DYCE, JOSEPH HUNTER, &c. &c., have all referred to this MS.; and wherever SIR JOHN FALSTAFF is dealt with it has been less or more utilized. Yet, strange to say, ours is the first printing of it in integrity and completely. The story of the poem is a somewhat odd one. It was one of the poems in a MS. from Dr. Askew's library, which had formerly belonged to Prince Henry, son of James I. From this MS. MR. GEORGE MASON printed a Selection of Poems by Hoccleve (1796, 4°); but this poem he sapiently rejected on the ground of its length and because of its "being much more of a theological disputation than a poetical exercise"! This MS. has disappeared irrecoverably, apparently. Hence it is no ordinary good fortune that James had preserved the poem in his own transcript. Perhaps *per se* the poem has no special merit, nothing of genius; but in relation to Falstaff it must ever be valuable to the student of Shakespeare. Mr. Corser said of it—"We believe it has never yet been printed. The poem, however, accompanied with the notes of James, notwithstanding its length, is well deserving of publication by the Shakespeare or some other of our literary societies, both from its intrinsic value and the celebrity of its hero."¹

With reference to the Epistle-dedicatory, it proves that the famous obese knight of the "Boar's Head"—Sir John Falstaff—was originally named OLDCASTLE, and that he was

¹ Introduction, as before, p. lx.

known by this name up to (probably) 1628-29. There are other evidences of the change from SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE to SIR JOHN FALSTAFF—well brought together in Dyce's introduction to "The First Part of King Henry IV." (Works, 3rd edition, vol. iv. pp. 204-5)—but perhaps James's Epistle "may be considered signally conclusive, and the most important document yet discovered connected with the subject."¹

Of the "*Iter Lancastrense*" I gladly allow its first admirable Editor to speak, as follows:—"The *Iter Lancastrense* of James belongs to a very rare class of antiquarian relics, every specimen of which has its value. It is from such sources as these that those minutiae of county history which are the most difficult to meet with are derived; and

¹ *Ibid.* p. lxvi. For the sake of those wishing to pursue the inquiry, I note the following additional books: (a) "The Character of Sir John Falstaff, as originally exhibited by Shakespeare," &c., 1841 (12°.)—by Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps; (b) Dr. Ingleby's "Centurie of Praife," as re-edited by Miss Toulmin Smith, under Richard James and Falstaff; (c) Hunter's "New Illustrations of Shakespeare," vol. ii., as before. I had intended quoting from John Weever's "Mirror of Martyrs, or the Life and Death of that thrice valiant Capitaine and most godly Martyre, Sir John Oldcastle, Knight, Lord Cobham" (1601), and from "The first part of the true and honorable historie of the life of Sir John Oldcastle, the good Lord Cobham" (1600)—both in the Bodleian; but I found that they would lead me too far from my immediate subject. So I content myself with these references to them. George Daniel of Bewick and Thomas Fuller and good old John Trappe blame Shakespeare for his (alleged) caricature. But there is often confusion between Oldcastle, Sir John Falstoff or Falstofe and Sir John Falstaff.

it is a relief to turn to them from the dry collection of facts and documents of which those works are in some degree necessarily composed.”¹

I attach special value to the snatches of description in “*Iter Lancastrense*.” I think WORDSWORTH should have read with admiration the verse-portrait of the solitary fisherman with whom the travellers fell in. It might have gone into “*The Excursion*.” There are other *bits* that will arrest and repay the pondering of the student-reader. “*Iter Lancastrense*” opens up a pleasant page of old-world old-fashioned friendship and journeying. As the penny-post is fast relegating letter-writing among the lost arts, so railways and modern hurry are as fast rendering leisuredly, observant tours—with perpetual turnings-aside into hospitable mansion or cosy, unvulgarized inn—sorrowfully rare. It does one good, I opine, to be carried back—as “*Iter Lancastrense*” carries us back—from present unrest into the tranquillity and large leisureliness of the past of Old Merry England. Since the first publication of “*Iter Lancastrense*,” it has been discovered that ROBERT HEYWOOD of Heywood Hall, was the host and companion of James; and that he was, in a humble way, a Poet, being the author of “*Observations and Instructions Divine and Moral*.”²

¹ Introduction, as before, p. xcvi.

² See this Poem as edited by Mr. Croftley, for Chetham Society, 1869. In his Introduction the Editor elucidates and supplements Mr. Corser’s pedigree of the Heywoods. Instead of reproducing that pedigree here, I now deem it sufficient to refer the reader to it and

The "Muses Dirge"—now first recalled to the light—is the most sustained of our Worthy's poetic flights. It has the intrinsic interest of testifying to his loyalty to the Throne up to the death of James I. That was indubitable until then. Among his MSS. I came upon a prayer that had been offered by him prior to preaching in Oxford; and, certes, its supplication for the king and all in authority is effusive and specific enough, whatever may be thought of the taste of it. I do not care to draw it from its secrecy. That were a semi-sacrilege. But I note the fact. Later, under the egregious conduct of Charles I., James, in common with great contemporaries, was disenchanting and compelled to see that continued loyalty to such a king was synonymous with treason to the kingdom.

I would call attention to the direct appeal made not to Drayton and Ben Jonson merely, but to 'Herick,' to sing more worthy of the subject of the "Muses Dirge." This is a new fact in the life of ROBERT HERRICK. That he was known so early as 1625 as a poet, while the "Hesperides" was not published until 1648 is in different ways noticeable.¹

Of the minor Poems I do not know that much needs to be said. His love-verses of and to Albina, and his commemorative verses of that love when she was wedded to

to Mr. Croffley's Introduction. It was well to make out the pedigree once; but it does not seem needful to repeat it, seeing that, after all, Robert Heywood was simply the host and fellow-traveller of James in so far as "*Iter Lancastrense*" is concerned. So with other names in it.

¹ See page 121, l. 17.

another, have a graciousness and elegance that if indefinable please. Others have quaint intermeddlings with philosophic data based on readings of "the red-leaved and confused book of the heart," that will reward thinking out, albeit I confess the stream of the thought pellucid at first is apt to lose itself in a quagmire of formless words.¹ This latter remark holds of a number of the Poems from the Bodleian MS. No. 35. I like very much his little sacred poems. They seem to me strong and sweet, weighty and musical. I should wish to see them take their place in our Christmas festivals; for which to-day, with a few priceless exceptions, the poetic provender is thin enough. His Latin poems have a certain elegance, but lack finish. They are mechanical rather than inspired.²

Such is all I feel it necessary to say of RICHARD JAMES in connection with the present volume. In bringing my introduction to a close, I would confirm my own judgment and estimate with the well-weighed words of Mr. James Croffley, F.S.A., of Manchester:—

"We are much indebted to my friend Mr. Corser for his researches in reference to Richard James, and for the labour he has bestowed upon the *Iter Lancastrense*, a poem which

¹ James's MS. as a rule is not hard to decipher, but some written out in evident haste have puzzled myself and others. So that I can't be sure that I am always correct in my reading.

² One queries whence he got 'Lucretius' in the heading of the poem that he translates from the Notes on Isidore? The MSS. show that his Latin verse was all written in hot haste: hence his inadvertent slips.

will always deserve attention as one of a class of which unfortunately we have too few. What is now wanted is a careful collection, from various sources, of Richard James's poetry, with a new memoir of him, for which additional materials exist, and from which many fresh facts and illustrations might be derived from a patient examination of the forty-three volumes of James's MSS. all in his own autograph, which are deposited in the Bodleian library, and which comprise one volume of letters to various correspondents."¹

I would only add that having with all 'patience' examined and re-examined the whole of the Bodleian James MSS., I regret that Mr. Croffley's expectations were not realized by me. The MSS.—exclusive of the Poems recovered and now printed—are mainly of importance in relation to his great work of the "Decanonizatio."

ALEXANDER B. GROSART.

APPENDIX.

See page xliv.

"There was one Richard James, a short, red-bearded, high-coloured fellow, a Master of Arts, who had some time resided in Oxford, and had afterwards travelled—an atheistical, profane scholar, but otherwise witty, and moderately learned. He had so screwed himself into the good opinion of Sir Robert Cotton, as whereas at first he had

¹ Introduction to Robert Heywood's "Observations and Instructions Divine and Moral." Chetham Society, 1869, p. xvi.

only permitted him in the use of some of his books, at last, some two or three years before his decease, he bestowed the custody of his whole library upon him. And he being a needy, sharking companion and very expensive, like old Ralph Starkie, when he lived, let out or lent out Sir Robert Cotton's most precious manuscripts for money, to any that would be his customers, which Sir Robert was wont to lend freely to his noble and loving friends: which I once made known to Sir Robert before the said James's face. Amongst other books he lent out, one Mr. Saint John of Lincoln's Inn, a young studious gentleman, borrowed of him for his money a dangerous pamphlet that was once written in hand, by which a course was laid down how the kings of England might oppress the liberties of their subjects, and for ever enslave them and their posterities. Mr. Saint John shews the book to the Earl of Bedford, or a copy of it, and so it passed from hand to hand in the year 1629, till at last it was lent to Sir Robert Cotton himself, who set a young fellow he then kept in the house to transcribe it, which infallibly proves that Sir Robert knew not himself that the written tract itself had originally come out of his library. This untrusty young fellow imitating, it seems, the said James, took one copy secretly for himself when he wrote another for Sir Robert; and out of his own transcript sold away several copies, till at last one of them came to the Lord Wentworth's hand of the North, now Lord Deputy of Ireland. He acquainted the Lords and others of the Privy Council with it. They sent for the said young fellow, and examining him where he had the written tract, he confessed Sir Robert Cotton delivered it to him. Whereupon in the beginning of November of the same year, (1629), Sir Robert was examined, and so divers others one after the other, as it had been delivered from hand to hand, till at last Mr. Saint John himself was impeached, and being conceived to be the author of the book, was committed close prisoner to the Tower, being in danger to have been questioned for his life about it. Upon his examination upon oath, he made a clear, full, and punctual declaration, that he had received the same manuscript pamphlet from that wretched mercenary fellow James, who by this means proved the wicked instrument of shortening the life of the said Sir Robert Cotton. For he was presently

thereupon sued in the Star-chamber, his library locked up from his use, and two or more of the guard set to watch his house continually. When I went several times to visit and comfort him, in the year 1630, he would tell me they had broken his heart that had locked up his library from him. I easily guessed the reason, because his honour and esteem were much impaired by this fatal accident, and his house, that was formerly frequented by great and honorable personages, as well as by learned men of all sorts, remained now upon the matter desolate and empty. I understood from himself and others, that Doctor Neale and Doctor Laud, two prelates that had been stigmatized in the first session of Parliament in 1628, were his sore enemies. He was so outworn within a few months with anguish and grief, as his face, which had been formerly ruddy and well-coloured, and such as the picture I have of him shews, was wholly changed into a grim blackish paleness, near to the resemblance and hue of a dead visage. When I afterwards read in the great and most elegant Latin History of Monsieur James de Thou of some learned men who deceased with grief after their libraries had been pillaged and spoiled by the violence of war, it made me call to my sad remembrance the loss the Commonwealth had in our judicious Cotton; and it might well induce me often to pray that if by tyranny or injustice, my library should be wrested from me, I might account it but a creature comfort, and so submit to God's will in it with patience and humility. I heard it certainly affirmed, that the young fellow whom Sir Robert Cotton kept in his house, and had employed to transcribe the said written tractate, was his bastard; which shews God's admirable justice, to cause the spurious issue of his fatal lust to prove the immediate instrument of his final ruin. I at one time advised him to look into himself, and seriously consider why God had sent this chastisement upon him; which it is possible he did, for I heard from Mr. Richard Houldsworth, a great and learned divine that was with him in his last sickness, a little before he died, that he was exceeding penitent, and was much comforted in the faithful expectation of a better life.

“He left Sir Thomas Cotton, his son and heir, wholly addicted to the tenacious increasing of his worldly wealth, and altogether unworthy to be master of so inestimable a library as his father. For

he promised me on Monday, the 16th day of this month in the forenoon, when I went to visit him after his father's death, (of which he talked smilingly, without the least expression of sorrow or resentment,) that he would lend me some manuscripts I should need for the furthering of the public work I was about; yet ever when I sent to him, but for one old book of Saxon Charters, into which were fastened and pasted divers originals or autographs, which he had particularly promised to communicate to me, he put me off with so many frivolous excuses or feigned subterfuges, as I forebore further troubling any messengers."

I.

ITER LANCASTRENSE.

1636.

NOTE.

The *Iter Lancastrense* was edited and printed for the Chetham Society, by the late REV. THOMAS CORSER, M.A., of Stand, Lancashire (1 vol. 4°. 1845, pp. cxii., 84, and 1 page errata). Like everything our lamented friend did, this was a labour of love, and which nothing but love of labour could have led him to introduce and annotate so copiously as he did. Mr. Corser's rule was, that whatever was worth doing at all, ought to be done thoroughly and well. Perhaps his *Iter* work was a hobby: and some may say it was over-ridden. Be it so, in the gentlest and unblaming sense! None the less is the book a *quick* memorial of a full mind, wide bookish tastes, and inestimable patience of search and research. Mr. Corser published comparatively little, but what he undertook he so did that it never had to be re-done—as, alas! so much has to be in editing and bibliography. It was inevitable, therefore, that in Notes and Illustrations I have had to draw largely on his. They are indicated by the letter 'C' added to each. Those having 'A' similarly appended, have been furnished to me by the Historian of Blackburn, my friend Mr. W. A. ABRAM, of Blackburn. Those with 'G' are mine. We have unitedly supplemented certain points from later authorities than were available to Mr. Corser. Having carefully collated the original MS., the text is purged of some pardonable misreadings and mistakes of the 1845 text. See our Introduction for more on the *Iter*.—G.



Iter Lancastrense

RICHARDI JAMESIJ.

*

From y^e varietie of their name writen in ould evidencies all theis coojectures are probable.



HIGH holte of woods, or haye enclofd with woods,

Or woddie Ille furrownded with fierce floods
Thy antique bounds; from whence so ere
thou haue

Birthe and death are equally y^e gifts of nature; be y^t is of other minde shall never be quiet.

Thy name, I bleffe y^e Heywood, wombe and graue.

The board and bed vnto thy ofspringe be
Kinde of their seasons with tranquillitie.

Peers Ewood, with many other gentlemen thereabouts, had land given vnto them at y^e same time by Adam de Berrye; y^e charters of which donations are yet extant. These charters are anciently calld books, and signe of a free tenure.

Thou bookland Heywood, lett each aged Sire
To well growne children y^e with lightfomme fire
Deliver gift of Berries Lord, when peeres
Rejoiced in men, not onely in their steeres
And towne-devouring sheepe, aboute y^e date
When second Harrie, mightye was of state.

10

These were not chief Lords, but free men, whose after griev to great worhippe. Whence Chaucer in his character of y^e Frankelin—
At feffions there was he Lord
and Sire.
Full ofte there he was Knight
of y^e Shire.

The Lords him followd to y^e wars, and they
With their bolde Francklins dowbted not y^e day
Of battle; men each other knowing voyd of strife,

Honour resolv'd to winne, or looze their life.
 Fulchis of Crew in Chefshire, thy braue worde
 Once spoken doth to after times afford
 Worthy example : when in dismall fight
 A horse was offerd to secure thy flight 20
 And leave thy fellowes to à bloodie field,
 If their stoute couradge did refuse to yeeld,
 Thy wordes were, ' Hether, trustie friends, we came,
 And, if we doe not gaine, wee le looze no fame :
 Goodwives of Nantwich and their daughters shall
 Nere houle aboute me for their kindreds fall.'
 So he, fo Talbot, France's terrour, dide,
 Because they would not from their fellowes ride.
 Such times were those which never heard y^e crye,
 ' Break open ranks for now my Lord doth flye.' 30
 Free Lords free tenants loud ; againe they trye
 To loue their Lords in life and memorie.
 Ashton of Middleton, to y^e I went
 From my deere Heywood once, and there I spent
 One space of leasure, to behould and see
 The fairenesse of thy seate, and courtesie ;
 In which we kindly fed, slept, rose againe
 Next daye, with other views to entertaine
 Free welcomme, and summe miles beyond thy home
 Mounted vppon thy horses we did rome, 40
 Vnder thy guidance, to à Roman waye
 High cast yet standing, as perchance it laye
 From YORCK to CHESTER. Aufins voice is true,
 Empire condignly was to Romans due.

Such is y^e tradition of him
 at Crewe once his Lord-
 shippe now in y^e possession
 of S^r Randall Crewe. Everie
 stone speaks y^e manner of
 Talbot's death. Theis Tal-
 bots before their Erldom were
 auncient rich Barons of this
 kingdome, whence of one of
 them tis sayd, ditissimus baro
 totius Angliæ, and so no
 doubt but they came brauely
 attended into y^e wars.

Quâ causâ Deus Romanos
 secundû quandâ formam ter-
 renæ civitatis bonos adjuverit
 ad [antiqui] imperij gloriam
 consequendam.—dedit mer-
 cedem bonis Romanof artibus
 terrenam gloriam excellentif-
 simi imperij. Aug. Civ. Dei.

Nic. Bergier à French lawyer hath written a lardge historie of theis Roman high wayes.

Peradventure theoce in y^e North à Roman forte is calld Reifingham. Reus, or Refe in Dutch signifies à giant, and our ould stories say in à mistake from hence y^e giants aunciently inhabited this land and built their citties vppon high hills.

Aunciently people did not vie to burye in y^e citties, much lesse so frequently in churches. Luther's aduise in this point is not only civill but also preservative to y^e health of citties. See also of this William Zepper in his ecclesiasticall policie, how monastick avarice brought funeralls to y^e church. See Rivet and Beza.

* The excellent prince Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk with bowemen of England slew King Jamye, with many a Noble Scotte enen brant (= bravest) against Flodden hill, in which battell y^e stoutest archers of Cheshyre and Lancashire for one day bestowed to y^e death for their prince and Countrey sake, hath gotten immortal name and praise for ever. Acham in his Schoole of shootinge.

Of y^e wearing haire long or short, Galen hath à verie fine discours. See also Lycurgus proverb of it in Plutarch. terrible quiddam præ se fert densū Gallor et Scytharū capituliū. Clem. Alex.

Our wayes are gulphs of durte and mire, which none
Scarce ever passe in summer withoute moane.
Whilst theirs through all y^e world were no lesse free
Of passadge then y^e race of Wallisfee,
Ore broken moores, deepe mosses, lake and fenne,
Now worcks of Giants deemd, not arte of men.
On theis their stages stood their forts and tombes ;
They were not onely streets but halydoms :
So did their buisnesse speede, and armyes flye
From East to West, like lightning in the skye.

50

Now goe we to y^e church of Middleton,
To finde out there summe glorie of our owne.
At chardge of those good men, whoe went out far
In suite of our braue Ashton to y^e warre,
There stands à painted windowe, where I weene
The showe of their departure may be seene :
The Lord and Ladye first in skarlett ; then
One neere attending of y^e chiefeest men ;
Their garments long, his short and blew, behinde
The chaplaine of y^e warfare you may finde
In robe of y^e same colour, for to faye
Before an altar praiers of y^e daye

60

On bended knees ; him followe neighbours bould,
Whoe doe bent* bowes on their left sholders hould,
Their girdle sheaft with arrowes ; as y^e squire
So are they all, courtmantells in attire
Of blewe ; like Greeks in Trojan warre, their haire
In curles long dangling makes y^e semblance faire
And sterne ; each hath his name, and people tell

70

With such camarades as those of which Lanoue speakes y^e commendatio in his militarie discourses, all our annient wars were fought, and so it continued I believe vntill y^e dissolution of Abbeys, vpon y^e lubbers of which pressing beganne to be suffered. They were so many fitt for no civill course of life y^e Bishop Hooper in à sermon complaines, how twentie men could bardly passe safe together vpon y^e high wayes. The former service was yetther by tenure or by agreement, wbcene in y^e pell office are yet manie obligations extant betwixt y^e King y^e Nobles and Gentrye of y^e Land.

* Our great Sires were so farre from pressing to warre y^e King Edward y^e 3, in y^e first volume of Froissard, cap. 206, speakes thus to his souldiers at Doyere vpon their departure for France. que son intention estoit teille qu'il vouloit passer outre au royaume de France, sans jamais rappasser, jùques à tant qu'il auroit fin de guerre ou paix à sa suffisance, ou à son grand honneur : ou il mourroit en la peioe : et s'il y avoit entre eux, qui à ne voussissent entendre, il leur prioit qu'ils s'en voussissent retourner.

Filiis quam primū ætas patebatur more Francorū equitare, armis ac venationibus exerceri fecit : filias verò lanificio assuecere, coloq. ac

That on y^e same lands now their children dwell
As yet so called. Lanoue, thy camarades
Of men theis were, which feare would never, shades
Of death in warlike service ; Agincourt,
Cressy, Poitiers, and Floddon field reporte
Their mightye acts, such as were never donne
Greater by Roman or y^e Macedon.

80

Were I y^e gentle Ashton, theis should be
In pourtrait honour of my pedigree :
I would in statue or in table make
A commelye niew remembrance for their sake,
And lett y^e state learne from my Auncestrye
What course is fittest deeds of warre to trye,
Not men of meanest ranke, whoe prest putt on
Withoute à shirte, à poore mandillion,

Whoe in despaire of life more * willing goe
Vnto y^e gibbett then against y^e foe.
Middleton, adieu ! y^e setting sunne doth trace
Far to y^e West, and wee to Heywood pace,
Where dairie worck goes forward, fairies spinne,
And of their feres good housewife praifes winne.
Ladies of Courte and Cittie dames, not fleere,
Because I praise my virgins for this gheere :
This worck, this gheere, if storyes do not faine,
Was donne by daughters of great Charlemaine :
This doing keepes them in a liuely heate,

90

And still preserves à stomack to good meate :
They are not lazies, queazies, wanting breath,
Nor in a wan fainte paleneffe bourding death ;

100

fuſo, ne per oclū torpeſcerent operam intendere, atq. ad ocm̄ bonēſtatem erudiri juſſet. Eginhartus de vita et rebus geſtis Caroli Magni. See alſo Vives de xpiana fœmina. Sed fœminam ſaiſthe, nullo modo placet mihi artū quæ manibus traſtantur imperitam eſſe: ac ne principem quidem, aut Regiuam. Quid enim aliud potius aget aut melius vacua domeſticia negociis? Confabulabitur ſcilicet cum viris aut alijs fœminis. Quibus de rebus? ſemper loquetur? nunquam conticeſcet? At cogitabit quæ? celer eſt cogitatus fœminæ ac fere inconfans, vagus, peregrinus, neſcio quā lubricitate devolvitur ſua, etc.

Both chriſtian and heathen writers mention y^e reverence of y^e ſea unto y^e ſands, but God's providence needs not any ſuch weak proofs. The ſand and peobles are indeede rowld up by y^e ſea, and ſo aboute Wincheſſey, Dele, and many other places, y^e ſea doth as it were make a fence againſt it ſelf. Chryſoſtome vies y^e worde of reverence and Minutius Felix ſays neerely, mari intende, lege litoris ſtingitur. But to thoſe whoe haue viewed y^e ſite of ſea and land tis apparant y^e if God had not made other fences of high rocks and ſhores, a reverence of ſands would not keepe y^e ſeas from drowning all.

They covett not as you to cloye their tripes
With coles, lome, aſſhes, foule tobacco pipes:
Happineſſe attend them if they marrye,
And comme lovers whoe not loue to varye:
I wiſh loue conſtant.

Lett us varie ſportes
Whoe are at leaſure, and ſeeke new reſortes
For recreation. Ormeſchurch and y^e Meales
Are our next journey; we direct no weales
Of ſtate, to hinder our delight. Y^a guize
Of thoſe chaſſe ſands, which doe in mountaines rize,
On ſhore is pleaſure to behould, which Hoes
Are calld in Worold: windie tempeſt blowes
Them up in heapes: tis paſt intelligence
Wich me how ſeas doe reverence

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V^o y^e ſands; but ſands and beach and peobles are
Caſt up by rowling of y^e waues a ware
To make againſt their deluge, ſince y^a larke
And ſheepe within feede lower then y^e marke
Of each high flood. Heere through y^e waſhie ſholes
We ſpye an owld man wading for y^e ſoles
And flukes and rayes, which y^e laſt morning tide
Had ſtayd in nets, or did att anchor ride
Vpon his hooks; him we fetch vp, and then
To our goodmorrowe, 'Welcomme gentlemen,'
He ſayd, and more, 'you gentlemen at eaſe,
Whoe monye haue, and goe where ere you pleaſe,
Are never quiett; wearye of y^e daye,
You now comme hether to drive time away:

120

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Muft time be driven ? longest day with vs
 Shutts in to soone, as never tedious
 Vnto our buisnesse ; making, mending nett,
 Preparing hooks and baits, wherewith to gett
 Cod, whiting, placè, vppon y^e fandie shelvs,
 Where with to feede y^e markett and our felvs.⁷
 Happie ould blade, whoe in his youth had binne
 Roving at sea when Essex Cales did winne,
 So now he liues. If any Bufshell will
 Liue west y^e world, withoute projecting skill 140
 Of ermitage, he shall not neede to seeke
 In rocks or Calve of Man an ember weeke :
 Heere at y^e deserte Meales he maye, vnknowne,
 Bread by his owne paines getting, liue alone
 Withoute à callott or à page to dresse
 Or bring bought meate vnto his holinesse.
 But hafte we back to Ormeskircke, least, I feare,
 Our friends departe, and leaue vs in y^e reare ;
 And home to Heywood, whence I joy to tell
 Our next niew fallie to y^e holye well, 150
 Foure miles beyond Flint castle, where our age
 Doth yet behould à doting pilgrimadge.
 Authors, y^t legends write and holye tales
 Without book, say y^t whilom dwelt in Wales
 An amorous young prince called Caradoc,
 The sonne of Alaine, borne of Royall stock,
 Enflamd with loue of fairest Winefride,
 Lord Thebith's daughter, whoe had promised
 Vppon Beunous preaching, to liue aye

Gilbert de Stone being for
 y^e time a trimme man of his
 penne, was follicit by y^e
 Monks there to write their
 founder's or Saints life : when
 he required summe memories
 of him, they had none at all.
 Wherefore in a letter of his,
 he says tis no matter, for he
 would write them notwithstanding
 a fine legend after
 y^e manner of Thomas of
 Canterbury, and certainly
 moste legends are written
 after y^e manner of Gilbert.

A vottall virgin till hir dying daye. 160
But, when hir parents vnto Church were gonne,
Into y^e houle came Caradoc anonne,
And, as he fownd hir setting by y^e fire
Vndrest, he quickly opend his desire.
To which she mildely sayd, ' pray, Sir, lett be,
Vntill my parents from y^e church you see
Returnd ; you are y^e prince, and soone may gaine
Their good consent to make their daughter raigne
A Queene by mariadge : better cloathes I will
In y^e meane while putt on, for to fullfill 170
Your lawfull pleasure.' To hir chamber so
She went, and soone doth through a posterne goe
To save hir self. She fled, he did pursue ;
Loue griew to rage, and forth his sword he diew,
With which at one blowe, with an angrie looke
Hir louely head he from hir bodie tooke.
The head fell downe, and tumbling rowled was
Into y^e Temple where y^e priest said mass :
Beunous was y^e priest ; so ghastly sight
Sett him and all y^e people in a fright : 180
Yet takes he vp y^e head, and marches on
Vnto the bodie with proceffion.
Curse falls on Caradoc, and he with it
Doth vanish forthwith to infernall pitt.
The holye man doth often kisse hir face,
And then it aptly on hir body place.
Bothe coverd are with mantle, till he goe
Againe to church, and end his masse belowe,

* See Euseb. de prepar. lib. 4, cap. 2, for the Ethnic and now Roman superstition doe much agree. Cogita vero ipse tecū, scilicet he, exempla vetera repetendo, quam isti sæpe, cum affectu valitudinis hominibus, robur, vitam, salutemq. pmisissent, illique postea non secus ac dijs fides haberetur, paulo post ingenti pecuniæ vi ex hoc afflictæ divinitus mercaturæ [genere] corrogatæ, quales tandem essent manifeste deprehensū fuerit, impotentes scilicet ac circulatores, non autem dii cum decepti ab ijs homines insulsi exitum habuissent. Quid porro attinet dicere, ne popularibus quidem suis, et ejusdem secum civitatis indigenis vates egregios quicquam prædij vel opis afferre, cum infinitos ibidem videas morbis laborantes, claudos, cæcos ac toto sæpe corpore mutilatos? Quid verò in causa fuerit, cur peregrinis quidem hominibus, et ex longinquâ regione venientibus rerum meliorum spes quasdam vmbrales ac fucatas ostenderent civibus autem popularibusque suis non item, quibuscum tamen eos vtpote domesticis amicis, ac civibus derivatum ex nuntio præsentia bonum communicare oporteret; nisi quodd extraneos homines veteratoris calliditatis ignaros facilius in errorem, quam alios sibi notos ac familiares impellerent, quippe qui artis huius imperiti non essent, sed vītutis ludificationis optime conscij? And hence it is y^t St. Godric and St. Thomas are sayd to have made a bargain y^t Godric should cure y^e South, and Thomas y^e North peoples diseases. But for truth Harry y^e eight cured bothe their impostures.

See Gabriell Powell in his annotations vpon Giraldus his surveye of Wales.

First breathing in hir nostrills ; by which breath,
At their returne, she raised is from death
As from a sleepe, he praying, and y^e men
Who there came with him, saying, ‘ Lord, Amen ;’
And raised is as persitt as before,
Saving y^t all hir after life she wore
A circle in y^e juncture white as milke,
Which seemd to view, à thread of finest filke :
And so, not loozing aught but in hir name,
She thence from Breuna Winefride became.
With Britaines wen is white ; but stained red
Still are y^e stones where ravisht was hir hed
From of hir bodye in à fountaine cleere,
Which at this cruell deede did first apeare ;
Since curing each disease, each sore and grief
In those which of this Ladie seeke relief.
Reade Surius and Baronius, whoe more
From Thomas Asaph’s Bishop keepes in store.
But Capgrauwe sayes, and truth he says I weene,
All things y^t are related are not seene.
Nay, here we see,* y^e lame, y^e halt, y^e blinde,
Bothe rich and poore, no health can ever finde,
And manye pilgrims dye vpon y^e place,
Whoe on their bare feete seeke hir healing grace.
Nay, nothing of y^e name of Winefride
Is in Giraldus or Galfridus read,
Whoe y^e survaye did write and y^e storie
Of their deere Wales, in which they glorie.
Theis learned clercks of Wales of hir knew naught,

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Of Elerius and Robertus
Salopiensis sec Ihon Bale;
&c.

Or waud such tales as Salope Robert brought;
They neither him nor yet Elerius cite,
Though summe men say they bothe of hir did write. 220
But here to Templers cell were monkes put in
Vnder our second Edward: then beginne
Theis craftie fables: stories they invent;
They purchase pardons which from Rome are sent;
They build à structure, chappell, cloysters rownd
About y^e well, to put of[f] cloathes they founde
A joining roome: in seventh Harrye's time
And in Queene Marie's; with such toyes they chime
Much people in with coyne to buye no health,
But to encrease their Greene-field Abbyes wealth. 230
The smocks which now for bathing we doe hire,
Were then belike theis monks rent and desire.
From natures secretts poets storryes faine;
Naught els of poets doe theis monks retaine.
This faire cleere springe, which courses through y^e hills
Conveys summe mettall tincture in hir rills,
Which they make staine of blood.

There is another spring ten
miles distant from Winefrid's
well, where are fownd stoos
in great number spotted in
y^e same manner, summe of
which Mr. Tredescant shewes,
given vnto him by Sr. Ihon
Trever. As theis springs
staine their peobles red so
Wellingborowe waters make
things yellowe, and bothe
haue their cause from nature
not historye.

But now the tide

Hath left y^e sandes, and we to Chester ride:
Chester a Roman station, where are fownd
As yet summe of their reliques vnder grownd. 240
The Romans hypocausts did vse, where heate
Of fire putt vnder made them kindly sweate
About; y^e bricks of such worke, lardge and square,
In knowing Whitbyes house preserved are.
Theis drie baths were of antique times y^e cure,

For is it not pittie y^e poore wenchies should be putt to y^e shifte of abortions, molaes, and so manye murders of their owne infants, as this forst Virginitie did enforce them to. See Vlrick's epistle to Pope Nicholas and y^e repentance of Gregoric y^e great in this pointe after he had fownd six thousand infants' heads in y^e foing of his fishponds; see more of this in Honorius Augustodun. and Clemangis.

Ethelbert did put Ethelfride vpon y^e action by y^e instigation of Austin y^e bloodie moncke, as it is cleere out of y^e translation of Bede by King Alfred into y^e Saxon tongue, howsoever y^e Lattin copies haue it now quamvis ipsa jam multo ante tempore ad caelestia regna translata, see Lisle in his Ælfric. See Mafon and Jewell. There was a great conspiracie of religion to destroye y^e Britanes, and to this way allso Gildas was no small traitour.

They came with their flags and crosses and having converted him vnto his wive's religion, he furrenders to them y^e whole power of Canturbury and retires himself to Roculvers in Tenet, inciting blood and warre vpon y^e Britanes whoe would not submit themselves to y^e insolent pride of y^e Roman church. The Brittaines vnder y^e Romans subsisted still bothe in lignage and landguadge, but y^e Saxon Christianitie destroyed both men and wordes, according to y^e Monks counsell vnto Phillip king of France, y^e he shewld destroye all y^e Greeks books

Which doe in many countryes still endure,
And from my owne experience to be plaine,
I thinke no waters are so soveraigne.
Of bucks and does, strainge beasts with peeled crowne,
Were whilom manye cloysters in y^e towne. 250
'Twas well contriud; when Friers were so nighe,
I hope no sisters did of molaes dye;
Of which disease y^e Jew Amatus fure
Hath writt as well y^e pittie as y^e cure.
Fond fals imposture! can man's wisedomme haine
The streames of Dee from gliding to y^e maine?
Three miles from Chester lyes à common heath,
Famous as yet with people for y^e death
Of Bangor Monkes, whoe came to blesse y^e fight
Of Brockmail Chester's Consul, put to flight 260
By Ethelfride Northumbrian king: from farre
He came, incited to à bloodie warre
By Ethelbert y^e king of Kent, to slaye
The Christian Brittaines, scorning to obeye
The pride of Rome in Austin, whoe with flight
Had made that foolish prince his proselyte.
Malice, rage, murder, and confusion
Markes are of Romish superstition:
Rome plants in blood, blood makes her thrive wee see;
The Turke to Christians is more milde then shee. 270
America, thy wofull tragedie,
Was not more fell then this of Brittanie
In lignage and in landguadge. Austin's worde
From Catnys to y^e Mount putts all to sward.

as well as their persons. See in Malmesburienſis à conſideration of theſe Saxons whether they were better men in their Chriſtianitie or their gentilitie; for I much dowbte whether Rome makes Chriſtianitie of manners,

Foule forcereſſe of Rome, I leaue thy heape
Of bloodie crimes to God's reuendge and threape.

'Penigent, Pendle hill, Ingleborough,
Three ſuch hills be not all England thorough.'

I long to climbe up Pendle; Pendle ſtands,
Rownd cop, ſuruijing all y^e wilde moore lands, 280
And Malkins toure, à little cottage, where
Reporte makes caitive witches meete to ſweare
Their homage to y^e diuell, and contrive
The deaths of men and beaſts. Lett whoe will diue

As Comineus ſays of Princes, they would not be extreme vpon their ſubjects if they did believe y^e God tooke cognizance of their actions. So I ſay of judges. If they did thincke there were à Diuell, no earthly hope or feare could make them doe ſuch things as in ſeueral ages times complain of them. And how euer y^e truth be, thoſe poore wretches finde pittie and apologie from manye. Whence Ewich y^e feed phyſicion of Brene. Impiæ veneficæ quæ vulgò ſtryges appellantur, grauem quidem penam merentur, et ſi multis in locis nimis temerè, et nonnunquam illogitimè Liceat mihi id hoc loco obiter dicere, ſatis enim hanc cauſam hodie viri eruditi diſceptarunt tractari conſueverunt, frigidam aut potius focū ſuffundente Molochō qui talibus holocaustis delectari ſolet.

An alewife ſo called. ſhe hath y^e home of plentie according to all.

Into this baneful ſearch, I wonder much
If judges ſentence with belief on ſuch
Doth paſſe: then ſure th[e]y would not for lewd* gaine
Bad clients fauour, or putt good to paine
Of long purſuite; for terrour of y^e fiend 290
Or loue of God they would giue cauſes end
With equall juſtice. Yet I doe confeſſe,
Needs muſt ſtrainge phanſies poore ould wiues poſſeſſe,
Whoe in thoſe deſert myſtie moores doe liue
Hungrie and colde, and ſcarce ſee priett to giue
Them ghofthlye counſell. Churches farre doe ſtand
In lay mens hands, and chappells haue no land
To cheriſh learned Curates, though Sir Jhon
Doe preach for foure pounds vnto Haſelington.
Such yeerely rent, with right of begging corne,
Makes Jhon à ſharer in my Ladyes horne: 300

* Of y^e French lawyers and judges wickedneſſe, ſee y^e great chancellor of France Michael Hoſpitalius in his epiſtle to Faber and to y^e Cardinall of Loraine, to Marillac y^e Arch Bp. of Vienne.

You may see this at a place call'd y^e stocks in Wold.

Lib. v. de bello Gallico he says. *Materia cuiusque generis, ut in Gallia est, præter fagum atque abietem.* And it seemes Cæsar did enquire all things of y^e Countrey when in y^e same place he could say *Nascitur ibi plumbū album in mediterraneis regionibus.* And theis mines were after much uſe by y^e Romans, whence at Caſtelton a Roman ſepulcher lately found had much led ore in it.

Torellius Sarayna. Goro-pius, Palissi, and divers others have writt of this ſubject. See alſo Fulgoſius. Mr. Rowlett alſo of Pertenhall in Bedfordſhire hath y^e rigg bone of a whale petrified, found vnder y^e arches of St. Neot's bridge. he now viſes it for a ſalt-feller. See many like things in y^e cabinets of Hubbard and Tredescant, y^e later of, whome hath binne my fellowe traveller. For y^e yvorie fownd in y^e northerne partes of y^e Ruſſian Empire tis y^e conſtant relation of y^e woodmen there whoe goe forth at certaine times to kill beares wolves etc. and y^e Emperour Rodolph's lapidarie Anſelmus Boetius writes of y^e petrified unicorn's bone, which is y^e bone of a fiſh, manie of which it ſeems y^e fiſhs buried in y^e maine land.

* See of theis things more in Septalius his treatiſe de margaritis, and Wernherus de admirandis Hungariæ aquis.

See Thevet's cosmographie, where he hath a ſpeciall diſcourſe of y^e vnicone. But I doubt not but y^e as

He drinks and prayes, and fortie yeeres this life
Leading at home keepes children and à wife.
Theis are y^e wonders of our careleſſe dayes :
Small ſtore ſerves him whoe for y^e people prayes.

But greater wonder calls me hence : y^e deepe
Lowe ſpongie moſſes yet remembrance keepe
Of Noah's flood : on numbers infinite
Of firre trees ſwaines doe in their ceſſes light ;
And in ſumme places, when y^e ſea doth bate
Downe from y^e ſhoare, tis wonder to relate
How many thouſands of theis trees now ſtand
Black broken on their rootes, which once drie land
Did cover, whence turfs Neptune yeelds to ſhowe
He did not allways to theis borders flowe.

We reade in Cæſar y^t no firre trees griew
Within this Iſle, if what he write be triew.
But ſure I am, y^t growing heere, or ſent
With ſtorme of ſeas, theis are an argument
That God, offended with earth's crimes, did raine
Till all once drownd was in a hurling maine.
Hence, tis* Sarayna, y^t on hills we finde
And inland quarries, things of ſea borne kinde,
Wilks, cockles, oyſters : threeſcore miles from wale
Of ſea at Conyngton was fownd à whale
Vppon à high downes browe, whoſe ribs and bones
With chance and time were turned into ſtones ;
And ofte earth's boſomme yeelds y^e rich prizd hornes
Of counter-poyſon ſea-fiſh vnicones.
What ſhall I ſpeake of ſoutherne yvorie

310

320

others fo he and his Turcke
are deceivd in taking it for
a land heaſt, when our North-
eaſt and Greenland diſco-
verers have provod this
horned beaſt to be a fiſh.

Which yet ſeas vaſt doth in Pechora lye? 330

Such changes doe from y^e great deluge ſpringe,
And fire ſhall all to y^e oulde Chaos bringe.

Meane while y^e works of nature and of arte

To view and weigh, it is my pleaſinge parte.

I Hubberts and Tredeſcants ernest prize,

Whoe not of ſecond notions doe devize,

Where endles prate doth vainlye beate y^e eare,

But to no worth our vnderſtanding reare.

At Norton Abbye, now y^e Brookſes land,
Twice big as life Saint Chriſtopher doth ſtand, 340

One giant ſtone, and in Hale chappell wee

Againe him painted with ſaint George do ſee

In y^e Eaſt windowe. Hylin, lett thy penne

Once more from hence prooue y^t theis ſhews were men :

And I from Wickham, if he be not neſh,

Will fetch Saint Sunday to make vp a leſh

Of retrivd Saints ; and George for Sunday ſtand,

Or els he feares y^e ſtrong Maypolian band.

Such things I ſawe and thought, in Lancaſhire,

At Heywood hall to trading Rachdale neere. 350

My ſafe bould harbour Heywood, much I owe

Of praife and thanks to y^e where ere I goe.

I love y^e men, y^e cuntrye, and y^e fare,

And wiſh heere my poore fortunes ſetled were,

Far from y^e courtes ambition, citties ſtrife,

Repoſd in ſilence of à cuntrye life,

Amongſt y^e Dingles and y^e Apennines,

Whoſe ſafetye gaue occaſion to ould lines

See in Aſchams epiſtles
how y^e wiſer Grecks take y^e
ſtorye of St. George hut for a
reſemblance, although now
for a long time they wor-
ſhippt him as a man with
piſtle and goſpel and holly-
day ; for all which there is
no more warrant than y^e
meere legend. According
vnto which at this daye they
ſhowe pilgrims y^e verie place
where y^e Kings daughter was
delivered and y^e dragon ſlaue
by him. See Mounſieur Bren-
nis his relation, and other
itineraries of y^e holye lands.
wherefore I maye not vn-
ſcemely parallel St. George
with Saint Sundaye in y^e
South caſtem of Wickham
Church.

Thus riming, 'When all England is alofte
 Then happie they whose dwelling's in Christ's crofte ;' 360
 And where thincke you this crofte of Christe shoulde be
 But midst Ribcheesters Ribble and Mercy ?
 My passadge hether I not liste to tell,
 Though then I sawe Saint Anne of Buckstones well
 Hot with à.chimney ; for springs colde and warme
 Rising together doe y^e bathing harme.
 At Casteltoun y^e waters nature strainge,
 Which in same day doe divers vertues chainge,
 Long-fownding Elden hole, and Pooles vast caue,
 The leadmens grooues who liues of mole-warps haue, 370
 The loftie Winyates, and wall-tiding springe,
 His worships breetch and mystes, I leaue to finge ;
 I leaue, because I finde my Muse to weake
 To sing with arte y^e wonders of y^e Peke.
 To my two hoasts of honour, Chetwyn, Crewe,
 Whose feates and bountyes our returne did viewe ;
 To y^e young heyre of Speke, in Stevens right
 Whose old Sire did y^e standards battle fight,
 And from whose house and name of late were seene
 Two chiefs of warre vnto our mayden Queene ; 380
 To Rigby of y^e Hut, where to our cheere
 We plentie had of clarett ale and beere ;
 To Sander Butterworth, whoe ledd me cleane
 Through all y^e cataracts of Heale dene ;
 To Robin* Howorth, from whose familie
 Great Noble peers derive their progenie ;
 To Roman Nowell, Ashton of Penkith,

Bothe auncient and mo-
 derne writers mention springs
 ehing and flowing like y^e
 sea, but they are deceivd.
 They indeede have vncer-
 taine spaces of running and
 ceasing, but no constant course
 with y^e sea : in Wales see y^e
 like.

* The Howorths are a
 gentle familie according to
 Aristotile, because they haue
 had *αρετων ανδρων* being in
 Edw. y^e I. time prefered to
 be Lords of Howorth castlle.
 yet in parliamentarie pardon
 of Henrye y^e sixt's time y^e
 words runne thus, Relaxivi-
 mus Thomæ de Haworth in
 com. Lanc. yoman alias dñ
 Thomæ de Haw de Rache-
 dale in com. Lanc. yoman,
 alias dñ Th. de Haw. de
 Todmerden in com. Lanc.
 yoman, alias dñ Th. de
 Haw. de Todmardene in
 com. Lanc. gentelman, quo-
 cumque nomine censetur
 omnimodas transgressiones.
 Otherwise as themselves re-
 porte they haue another name,
 at their coming in with y^e
 conquerour.

Of Novellus Tricongius a
 Milanese read Plinie, lib. 14,
 cap. 22 ; accordingly this gen-
 tleman's armes are for sume
 hundreds of yeres y^e three
 cups. But y^e vertues and
 auncient demeanes of their
 house giue them a fairer
 glorie. So y^e I should not
 willingly fetch their pedigree

from a drunkard, and y^e cups
may rather be a signe of hos-
pitalitye, three Christmas
cups: for Noelle in French
signifieth Christmas, of which
name there be also gentle
families.

Ireland of Hale, to all my Heywoods, with
Brock, Holcroft, Holt, this journall poeme sends
Greeting, and faire observance:—so it ends.

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Hoc iter Lancastrense
fecit scripsitq;
Richardus Jamesius Vectensis
An. Dñi. 1636.



NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

LINE 1, '*High holte of woods.*'—The reference is to the name of Heywood, near Rochdale, in Lancashire, and its probable etymology. The ancient spelling was *Eywode*, which is understood to describe, in Saxon words, the wood bounded by the water. The site of the modern town of Heywood, when the name was given, was occupied by a large wood which covered the high bank overlooking the river Roch. Heywood Hall, the old seat of the family of Heywood, occupied the edge of the cliff, and from the garden hedge the descent towards the stream is very abrupt. The Hall passed, in 1717, from the last of the Heywoods to John Starkey, gent., who rebuilt the house as it now stands in 1722. There are other two places in Lancashire identically named originally with this, viz. Ewood Bridge, which is the name of a hamlet beside the Irwell, a little to the south of Haslingden, and Ewood in Lower Darwen, near Blackburn, on the left bank of the Darwen river, which in deeds of the fourteenth century is spelled *Eywode* or *Eawod*. The popular pronunciation of each of these

names is to this day an echo of the Saxon name, being founded fhort Eawod or Awod.—A. ‘*Holte*’ = an enclosure, still used in provincial dialects for a small plantation; a wood or grove; but see *Promptor. Parvul.* ed. Camden Soc. and Mr. Way’s note thereon: vol. i. p. 244.—C. Nares, *f. v.* makes ‘holt’ = A wood. Saxon. Sometimes a ‘high wood’; but the latter is surely a mistake. For invariably the adjective is added when a ‘high’ wood is described. He thus corrects the Glossary to the Reliques (vol. i.): “Bishop Percy says, sometimes it signifies a hill; but in the passage he quotes from Turberville it clearly means no more than a high wood.

“Ye that frequent the hilles and higheft holtes of all.”

True; but ‘higheft,’ not ‘holtes’ *per se*, yields the meaning a ‘high wood.’ In the text there is a play on the ‘Hey’ of ‘*Hey-wood*’ in ‘high’, as also in ‘haye’ in the same line.—G. *Ibid.* ‘*haye*’.—From the Ang.-Sax. hæƷ; a hedge or fence; a toil to enclose wild beasts in.—C. Nares says —‘Originally a hedge; from *haie*, French. Also, a kind of net to catch rabbits, chiefly by enclosing their holes as with a hedge.’ “A connie-catcher is one who rules warrens and connie-grounds, pitching his *haies* before their holes.”—Minshew. He quotes also Wyatt, Sylvester, and Ben Jonson. But neither the meaning ‘hedge’ nor ‘toil’ fits the text. We do not speak of a ‘hedge’ as ‘enclosed with woods’, though we do of a wood enclosed with a hedge; nor is a ‘toil’ or maze thus spoken of. Is it not simply ‘hay’ in its ordinary sense, and so = grassy fields or meadows?—G.

Line 2, '*Or woddie Isle furrounded with fierce floods.*'—The river Roch, which, in time of continued rains, is a deep and dashing current at this spot, runs circuitously at the base of the hilly ground upon which Heywood stands, on the north and west sides, on its course to join the Irwell at Radcliffe below Bury.—A.

Line 4, '*Heywood, wombe and graue.*'—The Poet bestows his laudation upon the spot as the mother-soil of the race of the Heywoods, and also their place of sepulture from remote generations.—A. See our Introduction on the Heywoods generally and the Author's friend Robert Heywood in particular.—G.

Line 5, '*board and bed.*' = bed and board or entertainment.

Line 6, '*Kinde,*' *i.e.* by nature. See marginal note.—C. So Shakespeare in *Titus Andron.* (ii. 1), "Fitted by *kind* for rape and villainy" = natural disposition. Or, Is there an astrological reference, and '*Kinde*' = Kin?—G.

Line 7, '*bookland Heywood.*'—A 'bookland' or bokland in former time was a term equivalent to a freehold. See the note in the margin explanatory.—A.

Line 9, '*gift of Berries Lord.*'—The reference—as noted in the margin—is to the grant made by Adam de Byry, Lord of Bury in Lancashire, by undated charter, probably near the end of the thirteenth century, to Peter de Hewode of 'one part of the land called Hewode' within specified bounds; which was the source of the possession of the estate by the Heywood family. But the grant was later than the reign of 'second Harrie' mentioned by the Poet.—A. The reader who cares for such lore will find

the original Latin charter *in loco* in Mr. Corser's edition of the *Iter Lancastrense*.—G. *Ibid.* 'peeres.'—There is a punning play on the name of 'Peers Ewood.'—G.

Line 11, 'towne-devouring sheep.'—A hint that in those days the territorial lords had become indifferent to the condition of the tenantry and peasantry on their estates, and cared only for the increase of their cattle and sheep.—A. The same complaint has been made since, *e.g.* in the depopulation of vast districts of the Highlands of Scotland for deer and other game. I found in the backwoods of Canada Sutherlandshire Highlanders kindling into rage and denunciation of that policy that robbed Scotland of her 'men' that beasts and birds might take their place. Bitterly, yet also pathetically, would they add, 'perhaps we'll be missed some day when most needed.'—G.

Line 14, 'bolde Francklins.'—Nares, *f. v.* deserves a place here:—"A freeholder or yeoman, a man above a vassal, or villain, but not a gentleman. But the usage varied. 'Not swear it, now I am a gentleman? let boors and *franklins* say it, I'll swear it.' (*Wint. Tale*, v. 2.) 'There is a *franklin* in the wilds of Kent hath brought three hundred marks with him in gold.' (1 *Henry IV.* ii. 1.) 'Provide me presently / A riding suit, no costlier than would fit / A *franklin's* houswife.' (*Cymb.* iii. 2.) In the following, it seems to mean a kind of waiting gentleman, or groom of the chambers :

'But entered in a spacious court they see, &c.
Where them does meet a *franklin* faire and free,
And entertaines with comely courteous glee,'

SPENSER, F. Q., I. x. 6.

Thus low was the estimation of a *franklin* in the reign of Elizabeth. In earlier times he was a personage of much more dignity, and seems to have been distinguished from a common freeholder by the greatness of his possessions. Chaucer's *frankeleyn* is evidently a very rich and luxurious gentleman; he was the chief man at the sessions, and had been sheriff, and frequently knight of the shire. See *Cant. Tales*, v. 333, and Mr. Tyrwhitt's note upon it." The latter part of this note is confirmed by that in the margin. Mr. Corser quotes "the whole character" in Chaucer (ll. 333-362), "as there is a better reading of this passage in Tyrwhitt's Edit." [*i.e.* the couplet cited in the margin]; but as every book-lover is familiar with the passage, it is not deemed needful to give it here, especially as the alleged 'better reading' is simply the substitution of 'time' for 'there.'—G. The Heywoods were of the class of *franklins*, and doubtless some of them followed their chief lord, the Lord of Bury, to the wars in the early period referred to.—A.

Line 16, 'looze' = lose, *i.e.* pledging themselves to 'lose' their 'life' rather than 'lose' honour.—G.

Line 17, 'Fulchis of Crew in Cheshire.'—This was Sir Robert Foulshurst, whose wife Elizabeth, d. and sole heiress of Thomas Praers of Barthomley, brought to him the manor of Crewe in Cheshire. He was one of the four esquires of Lord Audley at the battle of Poitiers, in 1356. He died in 1390. James gives the story of his heroism as a local tradition. It is not recorded in Froissart.—A.

Line 25, '*Goodwives of Nantwich.*'—Nantwich is the nearest town to Crewe, about four miles off; and Crewe, which is now a large railway town, was hardly a hamlet when Foulsehurst flourished, so that the soldiers who fought under him would chiefly be the husbands and sons of the 'goodwives of Nantwich.' This explains the brave squire of Crewe's resolution.—A.

Line 27, '*Talbot, France's terrour.*'—John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, surnamed for his bravery the English Achilles; of whom Hall in his *Chronicle* says:—"This man was to the French people a very scourge and a daily terror, inasmuch that as his person was fearful and terrible to his adversaries present, so his name and fame was spiteful and dreadful to the common people absent; inasmuch that women in France, to feare their young children, would crye, the *Talbot* cometh, the *Talbot* cometh." And Edward Kirke, in his *Glosse* or *Commentary* on Spenser's *Shepheardes Calendar*, 4to, 1579, remarks, in his notes on the month of June, that "the Frenchmen used to say of that valiant captayne, the uerie scourge of Fraunce, the Lorde of Thalbot, afterwarde Erle of Shrewsburie, whose noblenesse bred such a terrour in the heartes of the French, that oft tymes euen great armyes were defaicted and put to flight at the only hearing of hys name. In so much that the French women, to affraye theyr children woulde tell them that the *Talbot* cometh." See also York's *Union of Honour*, p. 72. *Battels*.—Thus Shakespeare :

"In open market-place produc'd they me,
To be a publick spectacle to all ;

Here, said they, is the terror of the French,
The scarecrow that affrights our children so."

K. Henry VI. Pt. i. act i. sc. 4.

"The scourge of France !

— The Talbot, so much feared abroad,

That with his name the mothers still their babes."

K. Henry VI. Pt. i. act ii. sc. 3.

—C. The same 'terror' was long a living legend of *Richard Cœur de Leon* of England in the East, in connection with the Crusaders, as Scott remembers in *The Talisman*. I have heard numbers still living say that in Scotland 'Boney' (= Bonaparte) was in their young days a name of 'terror' for children and older. So too with Wellington in the Peninsula, and Napier in India.—G. *Ibid.*, 'dide,' i.e. died.—C. Mr. Corser has an elaborate note (pp. 26-28) on this illustrious hero.—G.

Line 28, '*Because they would not from their fellows ride.*'

—It is probable that the author, in this passage, had in view the affecting scene between Talbot and his son, described by Shakespeare in the *First Part of King Henry VI.* act iv. scene 5. It is thus alluded to by Yorke, in his *Union of Honour* (p. 266, ed. 1640) :—"It is said by some, that when they were in this fight," at the siege of Chastillon, "and that the Earle John perceived that he could not escape, hee admonished his sonne, the Lord Lisle, to fly, saying, thou mayest revenge my death afterwards; unto whom he answered, it shall never be said, that your sonne shall flie, whilst his father is fighting."—C.

Line 33, '*Afbton of Middleton.*'—James here records a visit he made, starting from the house of his dear friend

Robert Heywood, to Ralph Afsheton, of Middleton Hall. By an old by-road, the ride from Heywood Hall to Middleton Hall was about four miles. Ralph Afsheton was among the most considerable gentry in that part of Lancashire. He was thirty-one years old in 1636, when visited by the Poet. In the Civil War, from 1642 to 1648, he was one of the principal figures on the side of the Parliament in his county, and he rose to the rank of Major-General and to the first command in the county militia. He died in February, 1650-51. His having taken the Poet to see the remains of a contiguous Roman road, suggests that Ralph Afsheton had a taste for antiquarian studies before he embarked upon the adventurous life of a soldier.—A. Mr. Corser gives a very full account of the Afshtons or Afshetons (pp. 28-32). He has also engraved the monument of the Parliamentary commander and his wife from a tracing of the original in Middleton church. These being thus already accessible, I have preferred giving Middleton church itself, never before—it is believed—engraved. It remains very much the same as when James saw it. I am indebted for the photograph, after which my etching has been made, to my friend Mr. W. A. Abram of Blackburn.—G.

Line 34, '*my deere Heywood.*'—See our Introduction on this.—G.

Line 36, '*The fairenesse of thy seate.*'—The Hall has been demolished, and the site has been converted into building lots.—A. Mr. Corser writes pathetically of the destruction of the 'seate.' It was situated a little to the south of the church.—G.

Lines 41-42, '*a Roman waye*,' &c.—Remains of the Roman roads were apparent in several places in the district around Middleton in the seventeenth century, but most of them have now been effaced. The '*waye*' that the Poet rode in company with squire Afsheton some miles from Middleton Hall to inspect, was doubtless a section of Roman road at Hollingwood, near Oldham, a portion of the military '*waye*' of the Romans between Mancunium (= Manchester) and Cambodunum (= Clifton or Kirkles), the site of which latter station is a little to the south of the modern town of Huddersfield. There were other Roman roads in connection with this from Manchester to Chester, and from Cambodunum to York. So that James was not astray in his conjecture, 'as perchance it laye from Yorck to Chester' (ll. 42-3). The expression '*high cast yet standing*', indicates that in 1636, when the Poet saw it, the ridge of the Roman *agger* was plain at this spot.—A. See also Whitaker's *History of Manchester*, f. v. and the *Archæol.* vol. i. art. xv. p. 62 (1770, 4°).—G.

Line 43, '*Austins*' = St. Augustine.

Line 44, '*condignly*' = deservedly, according to merit.—C.

Line 45, '*Our wayes are gulphs*,' &c.—A graphically accurate description of all the roads in Lancashire in the seventeenth century, and for more than a century afterwards; wretchedly ill-paved and undrained, full of deep ruts and holes, and soon reduced in rainy weather to mere '*gulphs of durte and mire*.' Even in summer, as the Poet adds, scarce any passed over them '*without moane*.'

The Roman caufeways fifteen centuries earlier had been very different.—A. Italy shows to-day Roman roads as found and folid and smooth as when made two thouſand years ago and upwards. What a glorious ‘road’ and drive it is along the Appian Way from or to Rome! —G.

Line 48, ‘*ye race of Walliffee.*’—Ormerod, the hiſtorian of Cheſhire (vol. ii. pp. 195, 261-2), thinks the reference is to the Walleſey race-courſe, which in the Autobiography of Adam Martindale (Cheſham Society, p. 227) is ſpoken of as ‘Wallafie-Race,’ viſited by the Duke of Monmouth in 1682. Walleſey is ſituate in the hundred of Wirral, co. Cheſter.—A. See Mr. Corſer’s note *in loco* for further details with reference to the margin-note on ‘Reus’ or ‘Refe.’—G.

Line 50, ‘*Now worcks of Giants deemd.*’—The farmers and peaſants in country diſtricts where the Roman roads can be traced, ſtill ſpeak of them as the work of (mythical) giants or of diabolic agency. In ſome places the roads ſtill bear the name of ‘devil’s pad.’ Theſe roads were ſo old and ſo far ahead of popular tradition that the common folk aſſumed they could not have been made by ‘arte of men.’—G.

Line 52, ‘*Not onely ſtreets but balydoms.*’—The Romans were uſed to place monumental ſtones to dead celebrities by the ſides of their great caufeways in the vicinity of their ſtations, ſo that theſe words are = depositories of hallowed relics, before referred to (l. 51).—A. This cuſtom explains the pathetic appeals of Latin epitaphs and other

inscriptions, continued by our own Poets, *e.g.* Crafhaw and his contemporaries. Mr. Corser refers to Bosworth under 'Haligdom' (Anglo-Sax. Dut. 34).—G.

Line 55, '*y^e church of Middleton.*'—Middleton parish church stands upon a small hill near the road from Rochdale to Manchester, which there forms the main street of the village. The church is an interesting building, chiefly of the Tudor period, having been rebuilt by Sir Richard Afsheton in 1524 as a memorial, like the church at Hornby in Lunesdale built by Sir Edward Stanley, of the great victory over the Scots at Flodden Field in 1513, when Sir Richard and his bowmen of Middleton fought under the standard of Sir Edward Stanley. But the church had existed before from Norman times; and is named A.D. 1291.—A. Mr. Corser quotes at great length from the old poem of *Flodden Field, in Nine Fits*, of which there have been half-a-dozen editions from 1644 to 1819.—G.

Line 59, '*There stands a painted window.*'—This 'painted window' is still preserved, though mutilated and displaced. Mr. Corser gives in his edition of the *Iter* coloured plates representing two parts of the window, the one displaying the effigies of Sir Richard Afsheton and Dame Anne his wife, with the date 'A.D. 1524'; the other, in two divisions, representing the kneeling figures in blue gowns of the following persons, whose names are inscribed above:—Henry Taylyer, Chaplain, Richard
? Richard Kyld [? Wylde], Hughe Chetham, James Gerarde, John Pylkynton, Philipe Werberton, William Stele, John Scolefede, Wylliam James Taylier,

Roger Blomele, Christofer Smythe, Henry Whitaker, Robert Prestwyche, Richard Berwick, and John Seddon. The Poet's description of these yeomen and others agrees with the 'painted window.'—A. It was well to have the fragile memorial so far put out of hazard of perishing, by the 'coloured plates' in *fac-simile* furnished in Mr. Corser's volume; but a very slight study of the faces satisfies that there was no attempt at portraiture. They are wholly conventional and impossible human faces. Those of Sir Richard Afsheton and his wife have a more natural look, and may have been taken from the originals or some family portraits. As before stated, I have preferred to a reproduction of these an etching of Middleton church itself (facing title-page).—G.

Line 70, '*courtmantells*.'—A curt or courtmantell means simply a short mantle.—C.

Line 74, '*On y^e same lands*,' &c.—In the century and a quarter which had elapsed from the date of Flodden battle to that of the visit of James, there had been no failure of descent or breach in the occupation of the lands held by any of these Middleton men who had gone forth with Afsheton to the war.—A. Some of the names are still extant in the neighbourhood and over the county—most in humbler circumstances. Mr. Corser *in loco* gives entries of 'a number of the names from a Subsidy-Roll for the Hundred of Salford of 1505.'—G.

Line 75, '*Lanoué*.'—Francis de la Noue, an eminent warrior and statesman, was born in Brittany in 1531. He was early trained to arms, and distinguished himself as a

soldier in various countries. He was at the siege of Orleans in 1567; at the battle of Jarnac in 1569; and at the taking of Fontenoy, where he received a wound in his left arm which rendered amputation necessary; and its place being supplied with an arm of steel, with which he was able to manage his bridle, he derived from thence the surname of Bras de Fer (Iron Arm), which he bore ever after. He served also in the Low Countries, where he rendered great assistance to the States-General, but was taken prisoner in 1580, and detained by the Spaniards in prison for five years. During his confinement he employed himself in literary occupations; and composed his *Discours Politiques et Militaires*, first printed at Geneva in 1587, 4to, and at Basle in the same year, in 8vo, and since frequently reprinted. He continued to serve with honour under Henry IV., and was at last killed by a musket ball, at the siege of Lamballe in 1591. La Noue was a follower of the doctrines of Calvin in religion, and was one of the earliest writers, if not the first, who advocated unlimited toleration of all religions. He was also against the practice of duelling. An English translation of the *Discours Politiques et Militaires* was published in the same year in which they first appeared abroad, under the title of "The Politicke and Militarie Discourses of the Lord de la Novve; whereunto are adjoynd certaine observations of things happened during the three late Ciuill Warres of France: all faithfully translated out of French by E. A." London, 1587, 4to.—C.

Lines 75-77, 'thy camarades,' &c.—The construction

of the latter part of the sentence is,—‘which would never fear shades of death in warlike service.’—C.

Line 83, ‘*in table make*’—*i.e.* picture.—C. On panel.—G.

Line 88, ‘*mandillion*.’—Nares thus explains the term :—“A foldier’s cloak or cassock. A loose cassock, such as foldiers used to wear.—*Blount*. It was called also a *mandevile*. The name was derived from the Italian. [*Mandiglione*, a jacket.] “A loose hanging garment, much like to our jacket or jumps, but without sleeves, only having holes to put the arms through ; yet some were made with sleeves, but for no other use than to hang on the back.”—*Randle Holme*. He illustrates with quotations from Chapman, Sylvester, Dekker, and Copley. The Poet is severe on his spiritless and unpatriotic fellow-countrymen (ll. 89-90). And yet only a few years onward the Civil War revealed of what splendid fighting stuff, well-led, the community were.—G.

Line 92, ‘*Wee to Heywood pace*.’—The Poet’s stay at Middleton, as the guest of Squire Afsheton, seems to have been limited to two days ; on the first of which he enjoyed the hospitalities and courtesies of Middleton Hall, and on the second rode over the country with his host, visited the Roman ‘waye’ about Hollingwood, and returning spent the afternoon in the inspection of Middleton church and its memorials. About sunset he bade Mr. Afsheton farewell and returned to Heywood Hall.—A.

Line 93, ‘*Dairie work*,’ &c.—All the dames and daughters were busy with house or dairy work, as well as

the Hall as in the farmhouses which then occupied the tract over which the cotton-spinning factories and town of Heywood now extend. Women, whatever their degree, in these northern counties led no indolent lives when these lines were written. Dairies were kept at the houses of the gentry and yeomen, in which the female members of the household did their part, and, except in the larger halls, little was left to hired maids. Others of the daughters sat at the spinning-wheel, spinning flax, and the matrons were fully engaged in the duties of housewifery, in such a manner as to win praises from their 'feres' (husbands).—A. Are novel-reading and higher middle-life and upper ten *ennui* an advance on these 'good old times' ways? I for one trow not, albeit a living Florence Nightingale and her many followers, make us proud of the beautiful and unselfish devotion to 'work' on the part of our contemporary woman (better word far than 'lady').—G. *Ibid.*, '*fairies spinne*.'—See Brand's *Popular Antiq. f. v.* for this *bit* of Folk-lore.—G.

Line 95, '*Cittie dames, not fleere*.'—The Poet asks that Court ladies and City dames who might read his verses would not 'fleere' or mock because he praised the Lancashire maids for their work and 'gheere.' 'Gheere' refers to the articles of dress and other simple surroundings of the dames and daughters of Heywood.—A. The contrast between these healthy, blooming, happy Lancashire female friends and the fashionable London folks, is graphically made. There may have been a *souppçon* of exaggeration; but the quaint accusations and insinuations of the city-

ladies let in a vivid ray of light on their ways of living.
—G.

Line 97, '*faine*' = feign. See Todd's Johnson, *f. v.*—
G.

Line 102, '*bourding*.'—*i.e.* mocking.—C. Such doubtless is a meaning of the word (= jesting); but here it seems = accosting, inviting, *i.e.* death. Our present use of the word 'boarding,' *i.e.* living and receiving bed and board, seems (meo iudicio) nearer the meaning. With their unnatural likings for 'coles, lome, athes,' &c., they virtually invite and entertain Death.—G.

Line 109, '*Ormeschurche and y^e Meales*.' In order to visit Ormskirk and the North Meols on the Lancashire coast, James, and his friend Robert Heywood, would require to perform a journey from Heywood Hall of some thirty-five miles across the country, by way of Bury, Bolton-in-le-Moors, and Wigan; but the Poet makes no note upon the objects of interest *en route*, which would have rendered his itinerary of Lancashire more systematic and less fragmentary than it is in his poem. The journey was taken leisurely, the object being, as he says, to 'seeke new resortes for recreation;' and he exults in the reflection that he and his friend 'direct no weales [wheels] of State, to hinder' their delight. Of Ormeschurche (modern Ormskirk) he has no account to render, although it was and is a quaint little town, containing an ancient parish church quite as interesting as Middleton, with the mortuary chapel attached of the Stanleys of Lathom House and of Knowsley. Not until he reaches the sea-shore does he commence to

describe the features of the coast and country of Lancashire.—A. Mr. Corfer explains ‘y^e Meales’ thus—“Perhaps so derived from Meol, a heap or pile, a conical hill, a towering hill with its top smooth, or void of rocks and woods. See Owen’s *Welsh Dict.* 8vo edition. 1803. It is probable that Meales or Meols may be the district of sand hills with reference to the British word Meol.”

Lines 111-12, ‘*Y^e guise of those chaffe sands,*’ &c.—These lines depict with much fidelity the aspect of the coast between Churchtown and the site of the handsome modern town of Southport, in the parish of North Meals, and Formby Point, a few miles to the south in the direction of the mouth of the Mersey at Liverpool. He found the views of those ‘chaffe sands’ [in opposition to wet sands] which did ‘in mountaines rize’ along the shore, pleasant and striking to behold. For ages windy tempests had blown them up in heaps; it was beyond conception to the beholder, how the sea thus paid homage to the shore, shaping it by its own action into a frontier barrier against its own inroads; for the sands and pebbles cast up by the force of the waves in times of storm contribute ‘a ware’ or weir, or embankment, to repel their own deluge at the high tides, which would otherwise sweep into and swamp the low flat moss-land inland. This paraphrase of the Poet’s picture of the coast in question needs no addition to its detail to render the image vivid to the reader.—A.

Line 113, ‘*Hoes are called in Worold.*’—Hoes from How, a mountain, mons. See Lye’s *Dict. Sax.*, Bosworth’s *Anglo-Sax. Dict.*; *hoga*, a how or hoe, a term

applied to small eminences as well as greater ones. *Tumuli* are so called in several parts of England. We find it appended to Clider-how in Lancashire, Fox-how in Westmoreland, and Pen-how in Monmouthshire. But see more on this word How or Halgh under Dunken-halgh, in Whitaker's *Hist. Whalley*, 4to, 3rd edition, 1818, p. 407; Thoresby's *Duc. Leod.* by Whitaker, vol. ii. p. 129, on the word Gled-how, and p. 276; also under How-royd in Watson's *Hist. Halifax*, p. 161, and Baker's *Hist. Northampt.* p. 543, under Ayn-ho. The chief difficulty appears in the application of expressions referable to hills of so much loftier a character to the petty range of star hills or sand hillocks, such as we see on the coasts of Lancashire, Cheshire, and North Wales.—C. *Ibid.*, 'Worold,' i.e. Wirrall in Cheshire.—C.

Line 120, '*Sheepe within,*' &c.—Behind the natural embankment of the sand-hills, the land stretches eight or nine miles into the interior of the county in a perfect level, lying so low that when James visited the place some 3,600 statute acres of it were submerged, forming the bed of the swamp-like lake called Martin's Mere, which had been created by the accumulation of drainage water prevented by the ridge of sands along the coast from discharging itself either into the sea or into the river Douglas near its mouth at the northern verge of the Mere. The Mere was drained out and all the land brought into cultivation by means of works commenced in the year 1692, by Mr. Fleetwood, of Bank Hall, and completed towards the close of last century by Thomas Eccleston, Esq. A

main sluice or canal now carries the water drained off these flats forward to the sea, and is protected by massive sea-gates; but at the highest tides the sea water rises considerably above the level of the lands reclaimed and protected by these important works. Thus the Poet's statement that sheep feed on pasturage-ground lower than the mark of each high flood, is correct. Mr. Eccleston, who reclaimed the lands, states that the Mere was ten feet lower than high-water mark at the spring-tides.—A.

Line 121, '*y^e wafshie shoals.*'—The sea is very shallow for two or three miles from the shore at North Meols, and abounds with shoally places and extensive sand-banks, upon which ships drifting landward during storms in this portion of the Irish Channel not unfrequently run aground and are lost.—A.

Line 122, '*an owld man,*' &c.—Soles, flukes, and ray are still the most common fish taken in the nets of the fishermen along this part of the coast; and these, conveyed by hawkers to the interior towns of the county, find a ready sale. This old fisherman whom the Visitors meet and salute, seems to have been something of a philosopher. He took the visitors for country gentlemen of easy fortune, fauntering down to the sea-side, whose major difficulty was how to kill time and get the days over:—"Wearye of y^e daie, you now comme hether to drive time away" (ll. 129-130). Poor fishermen had no time to dissipate. The longest day with them shut in too soon, what with the endless tasks of making and mending nets, preparing hooks and baits, and the actual operations of fishing, catching

(besides the above-mentioned soles, flukes, and ray) such fish as cod, whiting, and plaice, upon the 'sandy shelves' of the fishing beds hereabouts; wherewith to feed the markets and themselves. Centuries back the land upon this coast produced so little before the marshes were drained, that even those who held as freeholders or tenants-at-will a patch of land, were often more fishers than farmers; as the latter, doing no more than keeping a cow or two for milk and butter, and a few sheep to feed upon the short herbage in the hollows between the sand-hills; and perhaps growing a few roots for family use.—A. See our Introduction on this 'happie ould blade.'—G.

Line 138, '*Roving at sea when Essex, &c.*—The expedition of the brave and accomplished Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, the favourite of Queen Elizabeth, in company with Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Lord High Admiral of England, to Cadiz or Cales as it was then called, took place in 1596. In this expedition Essex was the commander of the land forces, and is said to have thrown his hat into the sea for joy, when the Lord Admiral, after some delay, at length consented to attack the Spanish Fleet. The enterprise proved completely successful, the city being taken, and the Spanish Fleet destroyed. For his services in this Cadiz affair, the Queen created Essex Earl Marshall in 1597.—C. Like Shakespeare, Richard James goes out of his way to honour Essex—a suggestive fact.—G.

Line 140, '*If any Busshell will live west y^e world, &c.*—Thomas Busshel, in order to try how far a life of severe

abstinence would promote longevity, retreated to the Calf of Man (an islet about three miles distant from Port Erin, in the Isle of Man), and made it his abode in the reign of James I. In that dreary and melancholy solitude he appears to have died; for not only is a small ruinous building still shown, which is called Bushe's house, but also a place on the top of an adjoining rock, named Bushe's grave.

"This cemetery is most curiously constructed in the form of a cross, containing two cavities six feet long, three wide, and two deep. Immediately on the edge is a wall of stone and mortar, two feet high. The whole is roofed and slated; but except the before-mentioned application of this repository to the purpose of sepulture, no probable conjecture has been formed of the use or design for which it was constructed. The rock itself is only accessible on one side, and is called the Eye or Burrow. It adjoins the Calf at low water, but at high water there are forty feet of intermediate sea."—See Bullock's *Hist. of the Isle of Man*, 8vo, 1816, p. 223.

This Thomas Bushe must not be confounded with the person of the same name who was employed by Lord Bacon to assist him in his philosophical experiments, was celebrated for his knowledge of mineralogy, and became afterwards Superintendent of the Mint to Charles I. at Aberystwith and Shrewsbury. This Thomas Bushe lived many years later, and did not die till 1674, and therefore could not be the person alluded to by James. See Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. iii. p. 1007, and Blakeway's *Hist. Shrewsb.* vol. i. p. 423, &c.—C.

How different is the scene now at the same spot! When the Poet was there he deemed it as 'lonely' as the 'Calve of Man' and out of the world. Now it is the site of a watering-place as populous and growing almost as fashionable as Scarborough on the east coast, or Hastings with St. Leonards on the south coast of England! Southport, which extends nearly three miles along this shore, and reckons 31,500 regular residents, had not even a name a century since.—A.

Line 142, '*Calve of Man.*' See *supra* on l. 140.—G.

Line 145, '*à callott*' = a serving-girl, not at all as deteriorated into a 'strumpet.' See Nares, *f. v.* I am disposed to soften the usual gloss (*e.g.* Dyce) of *Winter's Tale* (ii. 3), by James's use of the term here, which it is impossible to think was meant by him to indicate trull, or drab, or jade, or more than wench, and in no bad sense.—G.

Line 147, '*Hafte we back to Ormeskircke,*' &c. viz. to rejoin friends left there by James and Heywood when they went forward to the coast.—G.

Line 150, '*y^e holye well.*'—This account of the legend of St. Wenefrede is related by James from a MS. Latin life of her, still existing, which was then in the possession of his friend Sir Robert Cotton, in a volume written on vellum about the middle of the eleventh century, containing a collection of chronicles and lives of saints, and now in the Cottonian Library, Claud. A.V. The authorship is attributed by James himself to St. Elerius, a Cambrian or British monk, in 660; but Mr. Blakeway, in the *Hist. Shrewsb.* vol. ii. p. 33, has clearly proved that it was

written at a much later period, and that "there is no document respecting St. Wenefrede for five centuries after the time of her supposed existence." It was from this Cottonian MS. that our author compiled his narrative of this legend; and it is plain that, though constantly occupied in his studies and researches in the Bodleian Library, he had not seen another MS. Latin life of St. Wenefrede in that library, written by Robert of Shrewsbury, prior, and afterwards abbot, of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul in that town, in the reign of King Stephen. This is addressed to his father, Guarin, the prior of Worcester, and extends over a space of forty-four closely written folio pages, containing an account of the life and adventures of St. Wenefrede, and ending with a long statement of the translation of her remains from Gwytherin Church, near Llanrwst in Denbighshire, where she was buried, to the abbey of Shrewsbury; in which translation Robert the prior, and author of this account, took a leading and prominent part. For further information on this subject see Alfordi, *Fides Regia Britannicæ, five Annales Ecclesiæ Britannicæ*; Leodii, 1663, fol. vol. ii. p. 304: J. Capgravi, *Nova Legenda Angliæ*; Lond. 1516, fol. p. cclxxxvi., b: Capgrave's *Lives of the Saints*, in Cat. Lib. MSS. Bibl. Cotton. p. 40. Tib. E. I. edit. 1802.—See also Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, Nov. 3d: Owen and Blakeway's *Hist. of Shrewsb.* vol. ii. p. 34, where a *fac-simile* of the writing of each of these MSS. is given; and Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, vol. i. p. 46, and vol. ii. p. 180, edit. 1810. Robert of Shrewsbury's *Life of St. Wenefrede* was translated or "reduced"

into English by William Caxton, and printed by him in folio, without date, fifteen leaves, a copy of which is in the Royal Library.—See Dibd. *Typog. Antiq.* vol. i. p. 341. Another translation of this life was published in 1635 by a Jesuit, under the title of “The admirable Life of Saint Wenefride Virgin, Martyr, Abbeffe. Written in Latin about 500. yeares ago, by Robert, monke and Priour of Shrewsbury, of the Ven. order of S. Benedict. Devided into two Bookes. And now translated into English, out of a very ancient and authentickall manuscript, for the edification and comfort of Catholikes.—By J. F. of the Society of Jesus. Permissu Superiorū M.DC.XXXV.” Small 8vo. with an engraved Frontispiece, containing a view of St. Winefride’s Well, and the Virgin herself kneeling before an altar. In 1712 was published “The Life and Miracles of St. Wenefrede, together with Litanies, with some historical observations made thereon. By F. Metcalf, S.J.” 12mo. Lond. 1712. With an engraved Frontispiece. And in 1713 appeared the last and most copious Life of St. Winefrede, by the learned Bishop Fleetwood; being the last-mentioned work, republished with Notes and Observations, and a Preface, by the Bishop, with the following title: “The Life and Miracles of St. Wenefrede, together with her Litanies. With some Historical Observations made thereon.” 8vo. 1713.—C. This was a longer journey than any of the previous ones of the *Iter*, the goal being Holye Well (Holywell), in the county of Flint, N. Wales. The distance from Heywood to Holywell by way of Manchester, Altringham,

Northwich, and Chefter, is about sixty-five to seventy miles, and would take a good couple of days on horseback to reach it in 1636. Again, on the outward journey, he mentions nothing he saw by the way, but proceeds to give a description of the Holy Well, and an account of the legendary lore connected with it.—A.

Line 152, '*a dotting pilgrimadge*.'—Cf. ll. 209-212. Except William Crafhaw (father of the poet Richard Crafhaw), Popery had no more strenuous opponent than Richard James. See our Introduction.—G.

Line 199, '*wen is white*.'—"Wen in the old British tongue signifies *white*, and other letters were by an alteration added to this syllable, to render more agreeable the found of the new name."—See Bp. Fleetwood's *Life of St. Wenefride*, p. 61, edition 1713.—C. *Ibid.* '*but stained red*,' &c.—In the translator's "*Preface to the Reader*" of the *Life of this Saint*, published in 1635, after remarking on the multitude of Pilgrims who visited the place of St. Winefride's martyrdom, he adds: "The waters of this holy Well, seeme to haue in the more than naturall vertues, by giuing a musky and most delightful sweetnes to the greene mosse growing on the wals of this stately enclosure, and colouring all the stones which lye in the bottom thereof with spots, as it were of pure blood, in them strangely appearing." In the *Life* also, the author speaks of the place being "seene and honoured by multitudes of people, daily visiting her Well, as the miraculous Trophy of her martyrdom there susteyned; wondring first, to see such a source of pure water breaking out of the ground

upon which her head first fell; next, to behold the stones therein, as with drops of blood strangely stayned, or died rather; and lastly, to smell the greene mosse growing about the Well, with a musky sweet odour more than naturally perfumed.”—*Life of St. Wenefride*, p. 179, edition 1635. The supposed bloody stain upon the stones is occasioned by an odoriferous vegetable production, the *byssus jolithus* of Linnæus, who says that “the stone to which it adheres easily betrays itself by the colour, being as if smeared with blood, and if rubbed, yields a smell like violets.” The sweet-scented moss which grows on the sides of the Well, and is found in other springs in the neighbourhood, is the *jungermannia asplenoides* of Linnæus.—C.

Lines 201-2, ‘*a fontaine cleere*.—Cf. Drayton’s *Poly-Olbion* (folio, 1622, p. 160) for the same legend.—C.

Line 205, ‘*Reade Surius, and Baronius*,’ &c.—“The Life of this Noble Virgin and Martyr, was diligently and authentically gathered by *Robertus Salopiensis*, a learned Monke and Priour of *Shrewsbury*, of the holy order of S. Benedi&ct, liuing in King *Stephens* tyme, and for his great sincerity, by *Cardinall Baronius*, *Surius*, *Capgrave*, *Pits*, *Poffeuinus*, and others, worthily commended. Whole booke coppied truly out of an old authentickall Manuscript, I haue heere in sense faithfully translated, and done no otherwise in altering the Authors old phrases, scarcely expressible in good English, then as if I had strippd some body out of Welsh course frize, and put him into a suite of English playne Karesay.”—Translator’s *Pref.* to the edit. 1635.—C.

Line 205, '*Surius*.'—Laurentius Surius, a voluminous writer and compiler, was born at Lubeck in 1522, and became a Monk of the Carthusian order in that city. He was eminent for his virtues and learning, and died at Cologne, May 25, 1578, aged fifty-fix. His principal works are *A Collection of Councils*, in four vols. fol. 1567,—*A History of his own Times from 1500 to 1566*, 8vo. 1569,—and *The Lives of the Saints*, seven vols. fol. 1618. It is remarked that Surius "did not want learning, but those of his own communion allow that he gave credit blindly to fables, and was deficient in critical knowledge."—C.

Line 205, '*Baronius*.'—Cæsar Baronius, a Cardinal of the Roman Church, and an eminent writer of ecclesiastical history, was born at Sora in the kingdom of Naples, October 30, 1538, educated at Rome, chosen Confessor to Pope Clement VIII., by whom he was raised to the dignity of a Cardinal, June 5, 1596. He was afterwards appointed Librarian of the Vatican, and died June 30, 1607, in his sixty-ninth year. His great literary work, in which he laboured for more than thirty years, was his *Ecclesiastical Annals*, published in twelve vols. fol., the first printed in 1588, the last in 1607, in which the history of the Church was brought down to the year 1198. There were numerous editions of it afterwards published.—C.

Line 206, '*Thomas Asaphs Bishop*.'—"Thomas Goldwell sub initium Octobris 1555 consecratus, circa solstitium æstivale 1559 (Elizabethæ Reginæ primo) solum sponte mutavit, et in exilio viginti postea per annos vixit. Magnō

conatu magnas nugas. Multis precibus à Papâ impetravit Goldwellus indulgentias renovari nescio quas ad tempus certum concessas, superstitionis gratiâ peregrinationes fuscipientibus ad fontem qui sanctæ Winefridæ appellatur, et oblationes sacrficulis exhibentibus qui ibi loci ex hoc lucelli genere victitabant.”¹—F. Godwini *De Præsulibus Angliæ Comment.* vol. ii. p. 222. fol. Cantabr. 1743.—C.

Line 207, ‘*But Capgrave says.*’—John Capgrave, who lived in the reign of Henry VI., was Provincial of the Augustine Friars, and confessor to the famous Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, the first founder of the University Library at Oxford. He collected together the various Legends of the British Saints, which he published in a more correct form than had yet been done. These Lives of the Saints were printed by Wynkyn de Worde, under the following title, “Nova Legenda Anglie. Lond. i domo Wynādi de Worde 1516,” folio. The Lives extend in alphabetical order to fol. cccxxxiii., a list of which may be seen in Catal. Libr. MSS. Bibl. Cott. p. 40. Tib. E. I. edit. 1802. The work was reprinted at the same press, with similar decorations, in 1527, folio. Capgrave, who is supposed to have died A.D. 1464, does not appear to be noticed by any of our later writers on biography.—C.

Line 213, ‘*Nay, nothing of the name of Winefride
Is in Geraldus or Galfridus read,
Whoe y^e surveye did write and y^e storie
Of their deere Wales, in which they glorie.*’—

¹ “Moritur et sepultus est Romæ circa 1581.”

"It is very singular," remarks Mr. Blakeway, "that Giraldus, whose turn of mind, at once inquisitive, credulous, and rational, would scarcely have let him pass over a worker of miracles of his own country; and whose subject, a description of Wales and its marvels, would necessarily have led to it, should not notice Winefride in the flightest degree; and a learned philologist,¹ himself a Welshman, boldly declares, that she was never anything more than a name; Gwenvrewy, signifying, according to him, '*the white hill water*,' the copious fountain of Holywell: an opinion which will not appear destitute of probability to those who call to mind the numerous examples in heathen mythology of wells that have sprung from events similar to that of the legend before us, and recollect how closely the religion of the dark ages copied the reveries of paganism."—See Blakeway's *Hist. Shrewsb.* vol. ii. p. 42.—C.

Line 214, '*Giraldus*.'—Gerald de Barry, better known by the name of Giraldus Cambrensis, was born at the Castle of Manorbeer, in South Wales, about 1146. In 1172 he was made Canon of Hereford, and Archdeacon of Brecon in the Diocese of St. David's; and on the death of his uncle, David Fitzgerald, Bishop of that See, he was elected by the Chapter to succeed him, but was opposed in this appointment by Henry II. In 1188 he accompanied Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a tour through some of the wildest parts of Wales, to preach the Crusade. The results of his travels were given to the

¹ Will. Baxter. See his Note on *Hor. Ep.* 1, xv. 3.

world in the most celebrated of his works, his *Itinerarium Cambriæ*. Little appears to be known of the later years of his life, but he is said to have at last attained the great object of his ambition, the Bishopric of St. David's, and having died there some time after 1220, to have been buried in his own cathedral.

Giraldus deserves our admiration for his enthusiastic love of British antiquities, and was a voluminous writer, also, on other subjects. The reader may see a full list of his works in Tanner's *Biblioth. Britann.* Portions of these were printed by Camden in his folio collection of English Chronicles, but a complete edition of the works of Giraldus is still a desideratum.

The *Itinerary* was translated into English, with annotations and a Life of Giraldus, by the late Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart., and published in 1806, in two vols. 4to. with the Latin text as a supplemental volume in the same year, the whole reflecting great credit on the taste and research of its learned Editor.—C.

Line 214, '*Galfridus*.'—Jeffery or Geoffrey of Monmouth, a contemporary of Giraldus Cambrensis, and a writer of British History, who flourished in the time of King Stephen, was born at Monmouth, and probably educated at the Benedictine Priory in that town. He was made Archdeacon of Monmouth, and promoted to the Bishopric of St. Asaph in 1152, but resigned his See soon after, on account of some tumults in Wales, and retired to the Monastery of Abingdon, of which he was made Abbot by Henry II. Here he devoted himself to study, and wrote

various works, of which the one best known is his *Chronicon sive Historia Britonum*, first printed at Lyons, in 1508, 4to. It is filled with marvellous and fabulous relations, and must be considered more in the light of a romance than as a piece of real history. An abridgment of it was made by Virunnius, an Italian; and an English translation of the work appeared in 1718, 8vo., by Aaron Thompson, with a preface "concerning the authority of the history."—C.

Line 218, '*waud.*'—i.e. waved, rejected.—C.

Line 218, '*Salope Robert.*'—Robertus Salopienfis, or Robert of Shrewsbury, whose name, on the authority of Lloyd's MS. *History of Shropshire*, is believed to be Penant, was probably one of the ancient family of the historian of that name, still existing at Downing, in the immediate neighbourhood of Holywell. He became Prior of Shrewsbury Abbey in the reign of King Stephen, and was afterwards made Abbot. He was the person who caused the translation to be made of the bones of St. Wenefrede out of Wales, to his own abbey at Shrewsbury, to enrich his foundation; and afterwards wrote the life of that Saint, and an account of the proceedings on the removal of her remains in 1136.—C.

Line 219, '*nor yet Elerius cite.*'—St. Elerius is said, according to ancient legends, to have been a Monk of St. Afaph, who lived A.D. 660, and afterwards settled at Gwytherin in Denbighshire, where he became the instructor of St. Wenefrede, who was placed by him in a convent of Nuns at that village, under the rule of his mother, Theona; on whose death she succeeded to the government

of the Nunnery. He was canonized at his death, and his body was afterwards removed to the Abbey of Shrewsbury.—C.

Lines 221-2, '*But here to Templers cell were monkes put in
Vnder our seconde Edward.*'

Basingwerk Abbey, called by the Welsh *Maes Glâs*, or Greenfield Abbey, about a mile from Holywell, was founded, according to Tanner and Dugdale, by Ranulph, Earl of Chester, in 1131, for Monks of the Cistercian order. Others affirm that it was founded by Henry II. subsequent to the year 1150. While Gabriel Powell in his annotations on Giraldus, and Bishop Gibson in his additions to Camden, both place its foundation so late as the reign of Edward II. in 1312, thus agreeing with James in the Poem. Pennant is of opinion that there had been a religious community here considerably anterior to any of these periods. He also states that Henry II. established here a house of Knights Templars, for the protection of the English pilgrims in performing their vows at the sacred well of St. Wenefrede, of which the spacious and elegant chapel is still standing. If a house for Templars existed at Basingwerk, it must have been contemporaneous with the existence of this older foundation; but the existence of Templars here is not certain. The Monks of this Abbey kept a Priest in the Chapel of the well, for whose maintenance they had special estates granted.—See Dugdale's *Monasticon*, edit. Ellis.—C.

Line 222, ————— '*then beginne*

Their craftie fables : stories they invent.'

The author of the Poem seems inclined to agree with Gabriel Powell in ascribing the invention of the legend of St. Wenefrede to the Monks of the adjoining Abbey of Basingwerk, from the circumstance of no mention being made of it by any writer previous to the foundation of that monastery. But there is every reason to believe the tradition to have preceded the foundation of the Abbey by a long period. Mr. Pennant, indeed, thinks the legend of St. Wenefrede was known previous to the Conquest. Holywell was anciently called in Cymric, *Tre-ffynnon*, "the town of the well," and in the charters of Basingwerk Abbey it is called *Haliwelle*.—Leland, in his *Genethliacon*, in mentioning Holywell, calls it

—— "cæfa Trefontem virgine clarum."—C.

Line 224, '*They purchase pardons which from Rome are sent.*'—The revenues of the Abbey were yearly increased from the sale of pardons to such as came in solemn pilgrimage to the fountain of St. Wenefrede. Selden, in his learned notes on Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, relates that Pope Martin V. in the reign of Henry V. furnished the Abbey of Basingwerk with pardons and indulgences to dispose of to the pilgrims.—C.

Lines 225-27, '*They builde a structure, chappell, cloysters
round*

*About y^e well; to put off cloathes they
founde*

A joining roome.'

The well of St. Wenefrede is one of the greatest curio-

fities of the county of Flint. It is situated in a deep dell between the town of Holywell and the sea, and is most probably caused by some streams descending into the chinks and cavities of the carboniferous limestone range of the Flintshire Hills, and thus forcing their way out at this spot. The supply of water is always very considerable, and after heavy rains great discoloration takes place in it; otherwise it is exceedingly pure, limpid, and cold. Above it is a beautiful edifice of the perpendicular style of pointed architecture, erected by Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby, mother of Henry VII., all the parts of which are constructed of the best materials, and finished in the most exquisite and masterly manner. This building consists of a lower open hall built over the well, with a wall all round, and monialled arcades looking into the well. The roof, which forms a canopy over the fountain, is most delicately carved in stone, the intersections being filled with sculptured figures of animals and armorial bearings. Above is a room once used as a chapel, but probably afterwards turned into an apartment for the bathers to unrobe in. At present the bathers put their clothes in small wooden closets, built at the south end of the lower hall, and the upper room is converted into a school. Outside the wall is a swimming bath constructed within an open court, and the spot is greatly resorted to at the present day by persons affected with maladies for which a "cold-water cure" may be desirable. The effects of the aqueous application are indeed so rapid and complete, in some cases, that the superstitious belief of olden times may be well accounted for,

and perhaps pardoned.—C. A ground-plan and interior view of St. Wenefrede's well and chapel appeared in the *Archæological Journal* for 1846, with a description by Mr. A. Poynter, who ascribes this "elegant gothic structure in the perpendicular style," on heraldic evidence, to a date before 1495. He continues—"The building enclosing the well is erected against the side of the hill from which the water issues, and forms a crypt under a small chapel contiguous to the parish church and on a level with it, the entrance being by a descent of about twenty steps from the street. The Well itself is a star-shaped basin, ten feet in diameter, canopied by a most graceful stellar vault, and originally enclosed by stone traceried screens, filling up the spaces between the supports. Round the basin is an ambulatory, similarly vaulted. The water rises from a bed of shingle with great impetuosity. From the main basin it flows over into a smaller one in front, to which access is obtained by steps on both sides, for the purpose of dipping out the water, and from thence into a large reservoir outside the building. From the latter the water passes by a sluice into the service of a paper mill, and after putting in motion the machinery of several manufacturers, falls into the Dee at a distance of about nine furlongs from its source. The chapel was restored about forty years ago by means of a public subscription of the inhabitants of Holywell. A charming vignette of the exterior of the chapel is given in Dean Howson's "The River Dee, its Aspects and History."—A.

Lines 227-29. ————— ‘ *In seventh Harryes time
And in Queene Maries, with such toyes
they chime
Much people in with coyne.*’

Pardons and indulgences continued to be sold by the Monks in the time of Henry VII., and in the reign of Queen Mary were again obtained from Pope Julius III. through the assistance of Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, who fled from this country into Italy on the accession of Queen Elizabeth, and died there in 1581. James II. and his amiable consort, Queen Maria Beatrice d’Este, came here, in order that her Majesty might derive benefit from the water; and it is said, not without good effects being produced.—C.

Line 230, ‘ *But to encrease their Greene-field Abbeys wealth.*’—“Multitudes of offerings,” says Pennant, “flowed in:—marks of gratitude from such who had received benefit by the intercession of the virgin.”—Pennant’s *Tours*, vol. i. p. 51. Edit. 1810.—“Greene-field Abbey.” See note on line 221.—C.

Line 235-7, ‘ *This faire cleere springe, which courses
through y^e bills,
Conveys summe mettall tineture in hir rills,
Which they make staine of blood.*’

It has been already shown that the supposed “staine of blood” is derived from a vegetable production. James here attributes it to the water being impregnated with iron or other metal, for which, however, there does not appear to be any good ground of supposition. We have seen it

asserted somewhere, that persons in Holywell used to remember the Roman Catholics painting some of the stones with red paint every year! "Credat Judæus!"

Bingley says, "In this stream it is remarked that the water-wheels are very soon destroyed—so much so that an oak wheel, which in most other waters ought to have lasted at least thirty years, has been known to become unfit for use in twelve; a species of moss, the *hypnum riparium*, vegetates on the wood, and harbours the larvæ of some species of insect in such immense quantities, that they soon eat even into the heart of the wood. On this account water-wheels formed of cast iron are used in the place of timber."—See Bingley's *North Wales*, vol. i. p. 52.

We do not know the other spring alluded to by the author in his side note, "ten miles distant from Wenefredes well," but in that limestone country springs sometimes both disappear and burst forth in very curious localities.—C.

Line 237, '*now the tide*,' &c. At Holywell the tourist has a view at low tide of the broad expanse of the sands around the estuary of the Dee. As the tide was receding from the sands, the Poet and his companions began the return-journey, and rode to Chester, where they doubtless lodged and inspected the city next day.—A.

Line 239, '*Chester a Roman Station*.'—Chester, the ancient Deva of the Romans, was the head-quarters of the 20th Legion for upwards of two hundred years, and one of the most important of their military stations in Britain. Considerable remains of Roman antiquities have been found

at various times within its walls, consisting of altars, statues, pottery ware, coins, and other relics; and also two baths. Of one of these, some remains are still in existence, consisting of a *hypocaust*, situated in Bridge Street, near the Feathers Inn, and engraved in Lysons' *Hist. of Cheshire*, p. 431. It is thus described by Pennant:—"This hypocaust is of a rectangular figure, supported by thirty-two pillars, two feet ten inches and a half high, and about eighteen inches distant from each other. Upon each is a tile eighteen inches square, as if designed for a capital; and over them a perforated tile two feet square: such are continued over all the pillars. Above these are two layers; one of coarse mortar, mixed with small red gravel, about three inches thick; and the other of finer materials between four and five inches thick; these seem to have been the floor of the room above. The pillars stand on a mortar-floor, spread over the rock. On the south side, between the middle pillars, is the vent for the smoke, about six inches square, which is at present open to the height of sixteen inches. Here is also an anti-chamber, exactly of the same extent with the *hypocaust*, with an opening in the middle into it. This is sunk near two feet below the level of the former, and is of the same rectangular figure; so that both form an exact square. This was the room allotted for the slaves who attended to heat the place; the other was the receptacle of the fuel designed to heat the room above, the *concamerata sudatio*,¹ or sweat-

¹ Vitruvius, lib. v. c. 11.]

ing chamber, where people were seated either in niches, or on benches placed one above the other, during the time of the operation.”—*Tours in Wales*, vol. i. p. 152, ed. 1810; and Ormerod’s *Cheeshire*, vol. i. p. 295. Pennant also gives an account of a second hypocaust, discovered in Watergate Street, in January, 1779, of greater extent than the former, containing two sudatories, but now entirely destroyed.—C.

Line 241, ‘*The Romans hypocausts did use.*’—The brick walls of some of the underground chambers of the Roman hypocausts were exhibited in Chester when James was in the city. Other similar structures have been recently exposed. Dean Howson writes (in 1875):—“Within the last ten years, during the removal of an old hotel in Bridge Street, the ground floor of Roman houses came to view, with fragments of tessellated pavement and other features familiar to us at Pompeii, and one of the hypocausts, or arrangements for warming, can still be seen very complete.” A century since (1779) a hypocaust was discovered in Water Street.—A.

Lines 243-4, ——— ‘*y^e bricks of such worke lardge and square,*

In knowing Whitbyes house preserved are.’—

Some of these bricks, or large square perforated tiles for conveying the steam, are now in the possession of Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart., of Oulton Park.—C.

Line 244, ‘*In knowing Whitbyes house.*’—Edward Whitby, Recorder of Chester, and M.P. for that city, was the Antiquary here named. He was the son of Robert

Whitby, who was Mayor of Chester in 1612, and had a brother, Thomas Whitby, Sheriff in the same year, who died before his brother Edward, leaving a family. Edward Whitby the Antiquary was chosen Recorder of the city of Chester 13th August, 1613, 11 Jac. I., and was elected M.P. for the same city in the following year, 12 Jac. I. He continued to sit for Chester to the time of his death, which took place April 8, 1639, at the Bache. He was connected by family marriages with the Gamuls, Alderseys, and other respectable Chester gentry; and it is mentioned by Ormerod that among the MSS. of the Randle Holmes in the British Museum, "are several of his papers relating to Cheshire antiquities, in a hand generally illegible." His Will bears date 17th June, 1633, in which he appoints his wife Alice Whitby and Thomas Branand, Esq., his Executors, by whom it was proved the 29th April, 1639; and mention is made in it of his estate, capital messuage, manor, or lordship of Bach, &c. &c. Bache Hall, or The Beach, as it is now called, the "house" or mansion here referred to, in which Mr. Whitby resided, and "preserved" his collection of antiquities, was garrisoned by the Parliament, and destroyed during the siege of Chester. It was pleasantly situated about a mile from that city, above a rocky valley from which the place took its name, Bach being the Saxon denomination of a valley.—See Ormerod's *Hist. Chesh.* vol. i. p. 187, and vol. ii. p. 423.—C.

Line 245, '*drie baths*,' &c.—It thus appears that our present hot-air 'baths' (so-called) were flourishing in Chester in 1636, and by James preferred to water-baths.—G.

Line 249, '*Of bucks and does*' = slang names for friars and nuns. This insinuation because of the almost invariable neighbouring of monasteries and nunneries, is an old gibe, too well warranted by facts.—G.

Line 249, '*peeled*,' i.e. bare, shaven, alluding to the shaven heads of friars.—C.

Line 252, '*molaes*,' i.e. false conceptions. See Facciolati in v. *Mola*. It is merely the Latin word borrowed, a practice common among old writers. Gouldman, in his curious *Latin and English Dictionary*, 4to, 1664, gives the term "mill" as used for such an abortion. *Mola*, $\mu\lambda\eta$, caro informis, seu moles carnea, in uteris concepta, a mill, a piece of flesh without shape, a hard swelling, a moon calf, &c.—C.

Line 253, '*ye Jew Amatus*.'—John Roderigo Amato, a Portuguese physician and medical writer, of Jewish origin, flourished about the middle of the sixteenth century. He studied at Salamanca, and practised surgery in that city, and afterwards in Italy. His attachment to the Jewish faith, brought him under the notice of the Inquisition, which obliged him to fly, first to Ragusa, and afterwards to Thessalonica, where he openly professed the Jewish religion. His writings chiefly consist of a large collection of observations on physic and surgery, entitled "*Curationum Medicinalium Centuriæ Septem*," published separately from 1551 to 1557, a work of great learning and information. The time and place of his death are not known.—C.

Line 253, Margin-note, '*foing*.'—Cleansing, or making

clean. Forby, in his *Vocabulary of East Anglia*, has to fie, fey, or fay, as still used in Norfolk in this sense. In Craven, to fie, or fay, now signifies to clean out, as fishponds or ditches.—See *Promptor. Parvul*, p. 160 and p. 175.—C.

Line 255, '*Fond fals imposture.*'—With characteristic anti-Popish feeling the Poet condemns the celibacy of the religious orders of both sexes, as a 'fond' [= foolish] pretence and a 'false' imposture, seeing that instead of being a pledge of chastity it was too often merely a cloak to profligacy. It was as much beyond man's art to secure virtue by such means as to 'haine,' or retard, 'the streames of Dee from gliding to y^e maine.'—A. *Ibid.* '*haine.*'—This word is still provincial, meaning to exclude, as cattle from a grass field, Somersetshire, Gloucestershire. It is obviously Ang.-Sax., *henan* or *hýnan*, impeding. It is equivalent here to hinder.—See concerning this word, Jamieson's *Scottish Dict.*—C.

Line 257, '*Three miles from Chester lyes à common heath,*' &c.—This event of the defeat of the Britons and the capture and pillage of Chester, took place in 607, when Ethelfrid, King of Northumbria, urged on by Ethelbert, King of Kent, came to avenge the quarrel of St. Augustine, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whose jurisdiction and authority, and that of the Romish Church, the British Monks and Ecclesiastics refused to submit. "Ethelfrid," says Pennant, "was opposed by Brochwel Yscythroc, King of Powis, who collected hastily a body of men, probably depending on the intervention of Heaven, as in the case of the *viðtoria alleluatica*; for that end he called to his aid one thousand two

hundred religious from the great convent of Bangor, and posted them on a hill, in order that he might benefit by their prayers. Ethelfrid fell in with this pious corps, and finding what their business was, put them to the sword without mercy. He made an easy conquest of Brochwel, who, as the Saxon Chronicle informs us, escaped with about fifty men."—Pennant, vol. i. p. 162. Ed. 1810.—"Hoc anno 607, Æthelfrithus ducebat exercitum suum ad Legirciefter, et ibi Britannos interfecit innumeros. Brochmail dictus est eorum dux, qui cum quinquaginta plus minus evasit."—*Chron. Sax.* 4to. 1692, p. 25. See also *Ran. Higden inter Rerum Ang. Scrip.* iii. 228; and *Bedæ Eccles. Hist.* ibid. p. 177.—C. James appears to have mistaken the scene of the memorable massacre of the Bangor monks. It is at a spot more like fifteen miles south from Chester than three miles, on the banks of the Dee, that the hamlet stands, still called Bangor or Bangor Monachorum, in memorial of the tragedy enacted there. Bede, referring to the slaughter of the British monks near Chester, with his habit of detraction of the character of the British Christians, writes that Ethelfurth, King of Northumbria, A.D. 607, "having raised a mighty army, made a very great slaughter of that perfidious nation (the British) at the city of Legions (Chester), which by the English is called Legacestre, but by the Britons, more rightly Caer Legion." 1100 monks of the great monastery at Bangor perished in this massacre.—A. James's theory of the *motif* of the massacre (ll. 261-66) must be read *cum grano salis*. Then, as since, hideous things were done in the name of Christ,

though in profoundest antagonism to His spirit and teaching.—G.

Lines 271-273, '*America, thy wofull tragedie,
Was not more fell than this of Brittanie,
In lignage and in landguadge.*'

James, in his fierce and bitter enmity against the Romanists, is here of course alluding to the horrible outrages and cruelties practised by the Spaniards in the conquest of Mexico, by Fernando Cortes, and their cruel treatment of the unfortunate Emperor Montezuma, and of his officers, who were publicly burnt alive; and also in the conquest of Peru by the same nation, under the celebrated Pizarro, whose treatment of the innocent and defenceless Peruvians calls forth feelings of the most genuine pity and compassion, and has left an eternal stain of infamy on the Spanish name.—See Robertson's *Hist. of America*.—C.

Line 274, '*From Catnys to y^e Mount,*' i.e. from Caithness in Scotland to St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall.—C.

Line 276, '*threape.*'—To threap, Ang.-Sax., *þreapian*, or *þreagian*, signifies to persist in a fact or argument, be it right or wrong; also to chide or censure, to blame or rebuke. But here it rather means reproof, or punishment. See on this word Grose's *Prov. Gloss.*; Nares's *Gloss.*; and Jamieson's *Scottish Dict.*—C.

Line 277, '*Penigent, Pendle hill, Ingleborough,
Three such hills be not all England thorough.*'

This is an old local proverb, or sort of proverbial rhyme, and may be found in Grose's *Provincial Glossary*, amongst

the Yorkshire Proverbs, p. 94. Ed. 1841. 4to. Ray gives it thus :—

“Ingleborough, Pendle, and Penigent,
Are the higheft hills between Scotland and Trent,”

PROVERBS, p. 238, ed. 1768.—C.

This diftich had its origin at a time when the people knew little of Englifh geography beyond their own diftrict, and in hilly diftricts confidered their own principal hills the higheft and grandeft in the country. South of the Cumberland and Weftmoreland ranges, however, there are no mountains of bolder altitude than thefe principal ridges of the Pennine range, which flanks the upper valleys of the Lune and Ribble, and extends fouthward through Weft Yorkshire and Eaft Lancashire into Derbyshire. Wharfedale, not named in the couplet, is the higheft fummit of the range (2384 feet), Ingleborough being 1361 feet, Penigent 2270 feet, and Pendle 1831 feet. An earlier poetic allufion by half a century than James, to thefe mountains, is found in Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (27th Song), *e.g.*

“From Penigent's proud foot, as from my fource I flide,
That mountaine my proud fyre, in height of all his pride,
Takes pleafure in my courfe, as in his firft-borne flood;
And Ingleborow Hill of that Olympian Brood,
With Pendle, of the North the higheft hills that be,
Doe wiftly me behold, and are beheld of me.”—A.

Lines 277-279, ‘*I long to climb up Pendle.*’—The next excursion of our Poet was in an oppofite direction from thofe which preceded—a ride northward from Heywood to Pendle Hill and Pendle Foreft in the North-Eaft angle of Lancashire. The party on ftarting for this journey

would proceed to Bury; thence over the hills at Haslingden separating the Irwell valley from the vale of the Lancashire Calder; and crossing the latter river at Altham Bridge near Padiham, would approach Pendle Hill on the southern side at Sabden or at New Church in Pendle Forest.—A.

Lines 279-80, ————— ‘*Pendle stands,*

Round cop, survaijing all y^e wilde moore lands.’

Pendle Hill¹ is situated on the borders of Lancashire, in the northern part of the parish of Whalley, and rises about eighteen hundred feet above the level of the sea. The views from the summit are very extensive, including the Irish Sea on one side, and York Minster at a distance of nearly sixty miles on the other. But notwithstanding the boast of the old proverb above, there are several hills around it of much higher elevation. Dr. Whitaker, in describing this part of the country, says—“A very singular phenomenon appears, which is this, that whereas the mineral beds of Lancashire preserve a general inclination nearly from east to west of one foot in five; and thence to one foot in seven; here on a sudden the crust of the earth appears to have undergone a violent disruption, in consequence of which the edges of the beds are thrown up into the air, and downward toward the centre of the earth. At an angle of no less than forty-five degrees to the horizon, immediately beyond this appearance, rises the huge mass of Pendle, which seems to have been thrown up by the same convulsion; and immediately to the north again, appears a surface

¹ So called from *Pen*, or the Head.

of limestone, with its concomitant system of plants and minerals, which, had the strata to the south maintained their natural position, must have lain at a vast depth beneath. The effect of this convulsion is felt over a tract of forty miles to the north, scarcely a seam of coal being found before we arrive at Burton in Lonsdale."—See Whitaker's *Hist. Whalley*, p. 278, 3rd Ed. 1818.—C. The summit of Pendle is a wide plateau, a mile or so across, and two or three miles in length; but at the north-east end there is a slight rise in the ground, which is the 'round cop' or cope, from which the wide expanse of 'wild moorland' is best seen.—G.

Lines 281-3, '*And Malkins Toure, à little cottage, where
Reporte makes caitive witches meete to
fweare
Their homage to y^e diuell.*'—

Malkin Tower, in the Forest of Pendle, in the county of Lancaster, stood on the declivity of Pendle Hill, and was the place where, according to vulgar belief, a sort of assembly or convention of reputed witches took place on Good Friday in 1612, which was attended by seventeen pretended witches and three wizards, who were afterwards arraigned, August 18, 1612, before Sir Edward Bromley, Knight, at Lancaster, and ten of these unfortunate creatures were found guilty, and immediately put to death. The account of this may be read in Potts's *Wonderful Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*, 4to. Lond. 1613; and reprinted in the third volume of Lord Somers's *Traçts*, 4to. 1810, with an Introduction and

Notes by Sir Walter Scott, Bart.; and since then for the Chetham Society, with an admirable and masterly Preface by Mr. [James] Croftley, who observes in a note to his Introduction, p. xlix:—

“Baines confounds Malkin Tower with Hoar-stones,¹ a place rendered famous by the second case of pretended witchcraft in 1633, but at some distance from the first-named spot, the residence of Mother Demdike, which lies in the township of Barrowford. The witch’s mansion is now, alas! no more. It stood in a field a little elevated on a brow above the building at present called Malkin Tower. The site of the house or cottage is still distinctly traceable, and fragments of the plaster are yet to be found imbedded in the boundary wall of the field. The old road to Gifburne ran almost close to it. It commanded a most extensive prospect in front, in the direction of Alkincoates, Colne, and the Yorkshire moors; while in another direction the vast range of Pendle, nearly intercepted, gloomed in fullen majesty. At the period when Mother Demdike was in being, Malkin Tower would be at some distance from any other habitation; its occupier, as the vulgar would opine—

‘So choos’g solitary to abide
Far from all neighbours, that her devilish deedes
And hellish arts from people she might hide,
And hurt far off unknown whomever she envide.’ ”

¹ Hoar-stones, of which there are many in different parts of the kingdom, have been very satisfactorily proved by Mr. Hamper to be Boundary stones.

Thomas Shadwell wrote a comedy on this subject, entitled *The Lancashire Witches, and Tegue o' Divelly the Irish Priest*, published in 1682, 4to. and again 1691, which met with great opposition at the time, on account of the character of Tegue o' Divelly the Irish Priest. The plot was founded in some degree on these trials in 1612, and the proceedings of Old Demdike and her companions. The play, by Heywood and Broome, called *The Late Lancashire Witches*, 4to. 1634, related to the other circumstances of pretended witchcraft, which took place in 1633.—C. There is some difference of statement as to the exact situation of the 'little cottage' of Elizabeth Southern, nicknamed Old Demdike. Local traditions accord another site to that indicated by local historians and by the erudite Editor of Potts's 'Discoverie.' But it was somewhere on the ridge of the moors, a couple of miles south-east of Pendle, above the glen through which the mountain-stream called Pendle Water flows. Malkin Tower, though but a small tenement, was visible, James observes, from the top of Pendle Hill.—A. Those curious in words will be rewarded by consulting Nares under 'Malkin' and 'Grimalkin,' as explanatory of the name here of 'Malkin's Toure.'—G.

Line 286, '*If Judges sentence,*' &c.—See the side note.—C. See also our Introduction on James's advanced opinions on witchcraft.—G.

Lines 294-5, ——— '*and scarce see priest to give
Them ghostlye counsell.*'—

James, though living at the time when the later trials

of the witches of Pendle Forest took place, in 1633, was superior to the superstitions that then prevailed, and attributed these idle and baneful 'phanfies' to their right cause, the lonely and desert country in which the thinly scattered population lived, and the ignorance and want of spiritual instruction and 'ghostlye counsell' under which they laboured. The large parish of Whalley had been deprived of its rich revenues by the dissolution of the Monasteries under Henry VIII., which had swept away, with rapacious hand, the munificent fruits of piety and religious feeling, and which, says the elegant historian of this parish, "by thus diminishing the numbers of the clergy, destroyed much of that influence which near inspection and personal intercourse with the people always produces, and by impoverishing the foundations which remained, effectually prevented the introduction of learned and able preachers. For the effect was what might be expected—the inferior clergy of that and the succeeding times have been too often contemptible for their poverty among the rich, their ignorance among the refined, and their bad morals among the devout ; so that from the want of a well-informed, respectable, and respected ministry, a country antecedently superstitious and stupid, has never been thoroughly evangelized to the present day." We sincerely trust that this melancholy state of things is gradually disappearing. By the building and endowment of additional churches, the multiplication of schools for the instruction of the ignorant and benighted poor, and a greater increase of general knowledge and intelligence,

accompanied by purer and better conceptions of the divine agency, these ancient absurdities and debasing delusions are fast dying away. The increase also of commerce and manufactures, and of the attendant comforts and conveniences of life, gives promise of increased bodily and mental improvement, the happy effects of which are daily appearing in the progressive extinction of those horrid and fanatical superstitions which prevailed so extensively here in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and rendered this parish so celebrated in the annals of witchcraft and forcery.—C.

Lines 295-6, ——— ‘*Churches farre doe stand*

In lay mens hands.’—

Bishop Galtrell, in his *Notitia Cestriensis*, observes in his remarks on the parish of Whalley, that “The Abp. [Cranmer] in his lease of this Rect: reserves to himself and Succ: y^e right of Nominating y^e Vicar and all y^e Curates of y^e sev^{ll} Chappells w^{ch} are therein named, viz. Padiham, Colne, Burnley, Church, Altham, Haslingden, Bowland, Pendle, Trawden, Rossendale, and Chap. of Castle at Clithero.”

The Patronage of the Chapels, however, was exercised by the Vicar of Whalley, which right was afterwards questioned by Dr. Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, but ultimately resigned in favour of the Vicar. For particulars of this contest, with some curious letters on the subject, see Whit. *Hist. of Whalley*, pp. 152 and seq. 3d Ed. 1818.—C. In the absence of Parish Churches, Chapels of Ease had been built, generally by voluntary gifts of money and labour by the inhabitants, at Haslingden, Newchurch in Rossendale, Accrington, Church-Kirk, Altham, Padi-

ham, and Newchurch-in-Pendle, in the neglected district traversed by James in this excursion ; but the titles of all these places belonged to the rectory of Whalley, which was appropriated to the Archbishop of Canterbury : neither were any glebe lands attached to these chapels. Almost their sole endowment was the interest on small bequests by pious parishioners, and some paltry pensions to curates allowed out of the rectorial revenues. The indifferent revenue of the chapels under such circumstances may be imagined. One celebration in the fortnight or month was as much religious exercise as was then provided in many chapelries. —A.

Line 296, '*In lay mens hands.*'—It is not to be understood from this that the patronage of the Churches was vested in unworthy individuals, who neglected to supply the Cures with fit and proper clerks ; but that the persons who officiated were merely *laymen*.

“ They scarce see *Priest.*”

These lay ministers were styled Readers, and had no orders ; and it is a curious fact, which we learn from James, viz. that the larger parochial Cures of Colne, Burnley, Church, &c. were so impoverished that they could not support an educated Ecclesiastic. It is quite certain that at no time after the Reformation were the Churches of Whalley parish in “ laymen’s hands ” as Impropiators.

It is a circumstance now too much forgotten, that the ravages of the lay Reformers of the sixteenth century stripped the poorer Churches of their ministers, and left

them entirely destitute of the ordinances of religion ; and that in a large proportion of the lower foundations in the remote parts of this diocese there were only Readers to be obtained, who were supported by the meagre voluntary offerings of their hearers. This state of things continued until the operation of Queen Anne's Bounty began to effect a change for the better. The following passage on this subject from Southey's *Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society*, is too interesting to be omitted :—

“ An increase of clergy proportionate to the increase of the people is still wanting. But the first steps have been taken towards this necessary measure, and something has also been done towards training up a supply of clergy for those remote parts of the country where the cures are miserably poor and the peasantry are the only inhabitants. Such cures were held in these northern counties by unordained persons till about the middle of George the Second's reign, when the Bishops came to a resolution that no one should officiate who was not in orders. But, because there would have been some injustice and some hardship in ejecting the existing Incumbents, they were admitted to Deacon's orders without undergoing any examination. The person who was then Reader, as it was called, at yonder chapel in the vale of Newlands, and who received this kind of ordination, exercised the various trades of tailor, clogger, and butter-print maker.” Pp. 66—67, vol. ii. 1839.

It is somewhat surprising to find how many laymen were formerly admitted to officiate in the remote Chapels

of the Diocese. But it ought also to be remembered, that when laymen leased the Tithes of a district, they nominated or appointed the Officiating Minister to the Church. This was a right supposed to be vested in the individual who enjoyed the tithes; not a right in the way of privilege, but of duty and obligation. "He who has the tithes shall see that the cure of souls is supplied." Still the *Churches* would not have been in the *hands* of these *lay men*, but the original *endowments* only; whereas if the duties were performed by a Sub-deacon or a Reader, it did not follow that such functionary was in Holy Orders, but the contrary.—See Burn's *Eccles. Law*, under the head *Reader*.—C.

Line 296, '*chappells haue no land*.'—This was a literal fact as regarded nearly every chapel in the parish of Whalley at the time when James wrote this Poem, 1636.—C.

Line 297, '*Sir Jhon*.'—John Butterworth, Clerk, Curate of Haslingden, is mentioned in Wills and Licences from about 1608 to 163—. But the description here given alludes rather to a class than to an individual, although the subsequent account of this person, and his forty years' incumbency, would rather lead to the inference that he was a real than a fictitious character. The title of 'Sir John' was merely a sobriquet for an illiterate priest, and often occurs in old writings. How late it continued to be in use, as applied to the inferior clergy, appears from this passage. The reader will find other apposite instances cited by Mr. Way, in his notes on the name John in the *Promptor. Parvul.* vol. i. p. 264, as occurring from Chaucer downwards.—C. Butterworth is named as curate of Haslingden in 1597, so that he

had really been at this poor place forty years in 1636. He must have died soon after James's visit; for in 1637 another curate was installed, one George Jackson. Although, seeing the curate's name was John, the term 'Sir Jhon' had a personal reference, it was a common term of the period applied to the whole class. Cf. Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* (1579), and earlier, Robert Crowley's *Voyce of the Last Trumpet* (1550). The latter as less known may here be quoted:—

“Thou that art lewde withoute learnynge
Whom commonly men call fyr John,
Geve eare, for I wyll say somethynge
Concernyng thy vocation.”—A.

Line 298, ‘*Doe preach for foure pounds unto Haslingden.*’—Bishop Gastrell, enumerating the several items of the endowment of Haslingden, records, in 1719, “old allowance, 4^l p. an.;—added by Abp. Juxon 7^l 10^s, as appears by receipt of Curate, an. 1663.” James’s allusion to this pension settled upon the tithes, and afterwards augmented by a worthy Prelate, is evidently historically accurate.—C.

Line 299, ‘*begging corne.*’—Ormerod mentions that in Cheshire “a custom of *begging corn* begins three weeks before Christmas and ends on Christmas eve. The farmers in the centre of the county are all waited upon by the poor, especially those of their own township, and give generally about a quart for each member of their family; sometimes meal and flour are given in lieu of corn.”—*Hist. Chesh. Gen. Introduc.* vol. i. p. lii. It was not unfrequently the case that parish clerks claimed once a year [toward Christ-

mas] "a bowle of corn" from each parishioner of substance in former days; and this dole might also have extended to the Curate. The Clerk of Rochdale parish, about 1692, had such a recognized privilege, which he relinquished for a money-payment out of the Church rates, and the latter being now withheld, his ancient stipend has been lost.—C.

Line 300, '*Makes Jhon,*' &c.—Ancient John Butterworth, the Haslingden curate, somehow contrived—though he had a wife and children—to spare out of his 'four pounds a year' something to spend on ale at the alehouse; for the Poet explains the terms 'my ladyes horne' to refer to 'an alewife' so called, who had 'an horne of plentie.' Perhaps this ale, like the corn, consumed by Sir John, was chiefly begged.—A.

Line 305, '*But greater wonder calls me hence.*'—The commencement of another excursion.—C.

Line 306, '*deepe, lowe spongie mosses.*'—The main object of this new and final journey of our Poet while his headquarters were at Heywood, was to see the remains of a primeval forest sunk beneath the present surface of the land and bed of the sea in the district of West Cheshire called Wirral (Worold), lying betwixt the estuaries of the Mersey and the Dee.—A.

Lines 307-8, ——— '*on numbers infinite*

Of fir trees,' &c.

Although there is hardly any timber now growing on the coast of Lancashire, remarkable only for its dreary and barren sand hills, yet it is clear that the country formerly abounded with wood, for in the moss lands near the sea,

large quantities of trees, "black, broken on their rootes," are still found only a few feet from the surface, as if overthrown by some violent commotion, or sudden irruption of the sea.—C.

Line 307, Margin-note, '*a place called y^e stocks in Worold.*'—The "stocks" here alluded to by the author were probably "the Meoles stocks," which were trunks of trees on the sea shore, above New Hall, now called Leafowe Cattle, in Wallesey parish, in Wirral. This part of Cheshire, though now so bare of trees, was once, according to tradition, so well planted with timber as to give rise to the saying, that "a man might have gone from tree-top to tree-top from the Meoles stocks to Birkenhead;" and to another proverb of the same kind, that—

"From Blacon Point to Hilbree,
A squirrel might leap from tree to tree."

See *Hist. Chesh.* vol. ii. p. 262.—C.

Descriptive and speculative articles on these buried forests will be found in vol. vi. (new series) of the Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, by Dr. A. Hume and Mr. Boulton; and in Dr. Hume's work entitled "Ancient Meols" (1863).—A.

Line 308, '*cesses.*'—*i.e.* probably excavations filled with water. (So *cess-pool.*)—C.

Line 321, '*Sarayna.*'—Torelli Sarayna, to distinguish him from others of that name, was a Doctor of Laws, but is not to be confounded with the celebrated Lelio Torelli, editor of the Pandects. His book was printed at Verona in 1540, with the following title, "Torelli Sarayna Vero-

nenfis Leg. Doct. de Origine et Amplitudine Civitatis Veronæ. Veron. 1540." fol. It is ornamented with a fine portrait of the author, and several large woodcuts of the architecture and antiquities of that city. An Italian translation of the work by Orlando Pecetti, was published at Verona in 1586, and again in 1646, 4to. The work is also printed in the large and valuable collection by Grævius, entitled "Thesaurus Antiquitatum et Historiarum Italiæ," fol. Lugd. Bax. 1704—23. Vol. 9, Pars. 7.—C.

Line 323, '*wale*,' or wall, *i.e.* wave. Sax., unda, fluctus : from the same root with Wele ; or Eng., well, a fountain ; —all as conveying the idea of ebullition.—See Jamieson's *Scot. Diet.*—C.

Line 324, '*at Conyngton was found a whale*.'—Conyngton, a village in Huntingdonshire, not far from Stilton, was the property and residence of the friend of James, the celebrated collector, Sir Robert Cotton, Bart., who, on making an excavation for a pond, found the skeleton of a sea fish, twenty feet long, lying in perfect silt, about six feet below the surface of the ground, and on a mound above the level of the fens.—C.

Lines 324-5, '*And ofte earths bossome y^e rich priz'd hornes
Of counter-poyson sea-fish unicornes.*'—

It is curious to find, from this passage, how late the vulgar error of the counter-poison qualities of the horn of the unicorn obtained. Few persons, however, have correctly assigned the horn to the Narwhal and not the quadruped as James does, who perhaps took the hint from his friend and fellow-traveller, Tradescant. At the King's

Library at Paris, the gigantic horn, long preserved as a treasure beyond all price in the Abbey of St. Denis, and presented, we believe, by St. Louis, is still shown. There is scarcely an inventory of the plate, jewels, and treasure of the Sovereign or of great Estates, in which mention of the unicorn's horn does not occur ; and we remember that even among the valuable effects of the warlike Henry the Fifth, given in the Parliamentary Rolls, it appears that he was possessed of a piece of this valued preservative.—C.

Line 330, '*Pechora*.'—There is a town called Petchora in Russia, in the province of Riga, near to a large lake called Lake Pskovskoie. But the author is here more probably alluding to the river Petchora, in the province of Archangel, which rises among the Oural mountains, and after a long course, and receiving several tributary streams by the way, empties itself into the Arctic sea on the north. James might possibly have visited this river in his early travels in Russia, and were his MS. "Observations" which he made on that country still in existence, they might have afforded some illustration of the author's allusion to this river Pechora.—C.

Line 335, '*I Hubberts and Tradescants earnest prize*,'—*i.e.*, their museums of natural curiosities.—C.

Line 335, '*Hubberts*.'—Robert Hubbert, alias Forges, who styles himself "servant to his Majesty" Charles II., collected many natural curiosities, which he exhibited at the Mitre, near the west end of St. Paul's. A Catalogue of these was printed in 1664, with the following title, "A Catalogue of many Natural Rarities collected with great

industry and cost and thirty years Travail into foreign countries, by Robert Hubert (alias Forges) Gent., Sworn Serv^t to his Ma^{tie}, and daily to be seen at y^e place called y^e Musick house at y^e Mitre near y^e West End of S^t Paul's Church." They were afterwards sold, and bought by Mr. Colville for £30, and given by him to the Royal Society.—See Bagford's MSS. in the British Museum, Harl. Coll. 5898, fol. 41.—C.

Line 335, '*Tradescants*.'—John Tradescant, celebrated for his knowledge of botany, and collection of natural curiosities, was a native of Holland. It is not known when he first came into England, but in 1629 he was gardener to King Charles I., and resided at South Lambeth in Surrey. He had travelled much in different parts of Europe, and, as appears from the side note, had been accompanied by James in some of his journeys. He was one of the first persons in this country who formed a collection of natural and artificial curiosities, and was followed by his son in the same pursuit. An account of this museum was printed in 1656, entitled "Museum Tradescantianum; or, a Collection of Rarities preserved at South-Lambeth neer London by John Tradescant," 12mo. Lond. 1656, to which are prefixed two portraits of the father and son, by W. Hollar, and a plate of arms of the Tradescants; the original paintings of which are now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. John Tradescant the younger died in 1662, and either sold or bequeathed the collection to Elias Ashmole, who at his death left it, with his own additions, to the University of Oxford, and thus

founded the Ashmolean Museum. There is a curiously ornamented monument in memory of the family in Lambeth Churchyard, erected by the widow of the younger Tradescant.—C. He has the honour of a place in Herrick's *Hesperides* (1645).—G.

Lines 339-40, 'At Norton Abbye now y^e Brookfes land
Twice big as life Saint Christopher doth
stand.'

In the garden at Norton Priory in Cheshire, the seat of Sir Richard Brooke, Bart., is an ancient gigantic figure of St. Christopher, carrying the infant Jesus, which is given in Buck's View of the Priory taken in 1727, and of which there is also a neatly engraved vignette in Ormerod's *Hist. Cheshire*, vol. i. p. 505.—C. Few visitors seem to be aware that on the *verso* of Rubens' great "Descent from the Cross" at Antwerp, there is a gigantic 'St. Christopher' bearing the 'Holy Child.'—G.

Line 341, 'One giant stone.'—Villegas, in his *Lives of the Saints*, observes of St. Christopher,—“He was very bigge of body, and talle of stature, and carried in his hand a great staffe agreeable vnto his strength. . . . Before his death the holy Saint made his prayer vnto God, and desired him humbly, that in the place where his body was buried, or any part thereof should be, that tempests and earthquakes might doe no harme. This (as it seemeth) is the cause that the picture of S. Christopher is ordinarily in euery Church, more than the pictures of other saints; and though his body or his reliques cannot be in euery place, yet at the least they set his Image there, that they may resort thither in time of

such necessitie, and be deliuered from the rage of tempests, stormes, and earthquakes, by the merits and intercession of this holy Saint. Therefore the Christians depaint him in euery Church and place, that all men may enjoy that fauour."

"Neither neede we to wonder, if S. Christopher were great of stature, for S. Augustine in the 15. booke, 9 chap. *De ciuitate Dei*, saith, that in ancient times, men were very taule. Plinie in the 7. booke, 2 chap. saith there be found men in Scithia of 50 cubits. S. Isidore affirmeth, that the Macrobiani, people of India, are 12 foote high. Strabo in the 7 booke saith, that in the sepulchre of Antheus, was found his body, which being measured was of 60 cubits."—See *The Lives of Saints*, by Alph. Villegas, 3d edit. 4to. 1630. p. 510.—C.

Lines 341-3, ————— 'and in Hale chappel wee
*Againe him painted with Saint George do see
 In y^e East windowe.*—

The present chapel at Hale having been rebuilt so lately as 1758, there exist no remains of the painted East window, containing these figures of St. George and St. Christopher; but there can be little doubt that this window was originally placed there by Adam Ireland, Lord of Hutte and of Hale (in right of his wife, Avena, the daughter of Sir Robert Holland of Hale), who built a portion of the original chapel at Hale, and was living in 1315.—C.

Lines 343-4, ————— 'Hylin lett thy penne
*Once more from hence proue y^e theis shows
 were men.*—

Dr. Peter Heylin, an eminent divine of the Church of

England, of considerable learning and industry, and the author of numerous works which are now rising again into esteem, was born at Burford in Oxfordshire in 1599, educated at Oxford, made Chaplain in ordinary to Charles I., from whom he received valuable preferment, and was much noticed and employed by Archbishop Laud. During the ascendancy of the parliamentary party he was stripped of all his preferment, deprived of his curious and valuable library, and reduced to great poverty and distress. But on the restoration of Charles II. he recovered all his various spiritualities, which, however, he did not long enjoy, but died in 1662, in the sixty-second year of his age. In 1631 Dr. Heylin published "The Historie of that most famous Saint and Souldier of Christ Jesus, St. George of Cappadocia; asserted from the Fictions of the Middle Ages of the Church and Opposition of the present, Lond. 1631," 4to., in which he endeavoured to prove, that such an individual really had existed, in opposition to the general belief that he was an imaginary being. A second edition, corrected and enlarged, but with some omissions, was published in 1633, 4to.

Heylin had the misfortune to fall under the censure of Dr. Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, at that time a popular man with the puritanical party, who had, however, some time before, published a Latin Lecture on the Sabbath, and advocated opinions therein not much in unison with those maintained by the Puritans. When the Proclamation generally called the *Book of Sports* was re-issued, a great clamour was raised

against Charles I. and Laud, of which Heylin, as Chaplain to both, had his share. To vindicate the proceedings of the King and Archbishop, and to lessen Prideaux's influence with the Sabbatarians and Puritans, Heylin translated Prideaux's Lecture upon the Sabbath, and added a pungent Preface, which answered the objects that he had in view. This was in 1633, and it is not improbable that James had this controversy in his mind when he, with much dry sarcasm, makes allusion to "Saint Sunday," in line 346. A full account of Heylin, and of his controversies with Prideaux and Archbishop Williams, with a copious notice of his numerous works, will be found in Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* v. iii. p. 552. 4to. ed. Blifs. See also Newcourt's *Rep. Eccles.* vol. i. p. 925; and Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 90, part ii.—C.

Line 344, '*prooue y^t theis shews were men,*' i.e. that these saints really had an existence, and were not merely imaginary beings.—C.

Line 345, '*Wickham.*'—There are several places of this name in England, so that it is difficult to ascertain to which of them James here refers. We fear, also, that the painted glass mentioned in the side-note as adorning "the south casement of Wickham church," has not escaped the destructive hand of the puritans, like the Middleton window, but perished in the great Rebellion; otherwise such a personification of St. Sunday would be a fact of a novel and interesting nature, and worthy of further investigation.—C.

Line 345, '*nefb*' = soft, tender, delicate; but here perhaps

used in the sense of nice, scrupulous, unwilling to come. This is a Lancashire word, and also still retained in the central counties, but generally in the first named sense.—C.

Line 346, '*Saint Sunday*.'—This is a very remarkable passage in the poem, and the first time we have ever heard of the personification of St. Sunday, who is completely unknown to hagiographers. There is no doubt the day was converted into a saint in the same manner as St. Cross, St. Trinity, or St. Saviour, now generally called *Holy Cross*, *Holy Trinity*, &c.; although examples of the former mode of expression are yet found in some old places, as at York and Winchester. It is evident that the author considers Saint Sunday quite as apocryphal as St. Christopher or St. George.

It is possible that Saint Sunday may be St. Dominica. There appear to have been two females of that name. One of them, a virgin, was born at Carthage, and flourished about the time of Theodosius the Great; she visited Constantinople with four other virgins, and was baptized by Nectarius. She died in 475; her day was January 8. It is a singular coincidence that with her were canonized S. *Georgius Chozebites*, and S. *Æmilianus*.—See Zedler.—C.

Line 346, '*a lesh*,' i.e. a leash—three; viz. St. Christopher, St. George, and St. Sunday.—C.

Line 348, '*Or els he feares y^e strong Maypolian band*.'—The meaning of this line appears to be, that Heylin, the undaunted and haughty opponent of the Puritans, would be considered afraid of that body—the vigorous enemies of

Maypoles and Sunday sports—unless he vindicated opinions and usages which they rejected.¹—C.

Line 350, '*At Heywood hall.*'—Heywood Hall, in the township of Heap, the residence, at the time of James's visit, of one of the most ancient families in the parish of Bury, is situated about half a mile to the north-east of the populous village of the same name. It is beautifully embosomed in wood, consisting of lofty beech, oak, chestnut, and other trees, on a rising elevation above the valley of the river Roach, which flows not far from the grounds. The house, which is partly covered with ivy, has been entirely modernized, so that with the exception of an old gable, and some portion of the offices, little remains visible of the more ancient edifice. The interior is replete with every comfort, and surrounded with extensive gardens and pleasure grounds, and is at present occupied by James Fenton, Jun., Esq.—C.

Line 350, '*trading Rachdale.*'—In post-mortem inquiries in the time of Henry VIII., "Walk Mills," or Fulling Mills, frequently occur; and in the reigns of Eliza-

¹ Since the note on Saint Sunday was printed, the Editor has had his attention called by a friend to a singular corroborative evidence of the supposed existence of such a Saint as is in vain sought for in the Calendar, which is afforded by the letter of Oliver Cromwell to Speaker Lenthall, written from Dublin, September, 1649, in which he recites the sanguinary details of the capture of Drogheda by the Parliamentary army, and how a body of the besieged garrison took refuge in a strong round tower next the gate called *St. Sunday's*.

This is curious, and it is not improbable that this unknown Saint may yet be found in Ireland.—C. See our Introduction.—G.

beth and James I., the woollen trade of the parish of Rochdale was very considerable. It is supposed to have been originally introduced by Flemish emigrants in the time of Edward III.—C.

Lines 351-2, ————— ‘*much I owe*

Of praise and thanks to y^e where’er I goe.’

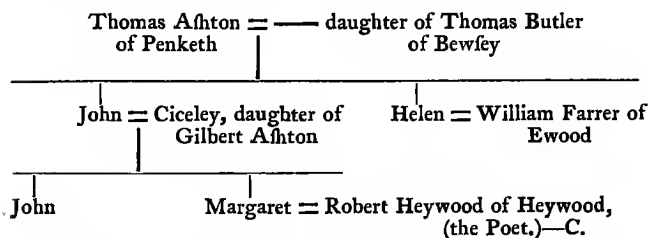
James continues here to speak with great affection of this place, and of the family of that name, who then owned it. From what motives he was induced to visit it, or to become so tenderly attached to it, is still involved in obscurity. The editor is unable to impart any further light on this subject, beyond the conjecture thrown out in the note on line 34; unless the following information may be thought by our readers to bear further on this point.

William Farrer, of Ewood Hall, in the parish of Halifax, Esq., married *Thomasine*, daughter of *Richard James*, of *Portsmouth*, Esq., and had a daughter, who died January 10, 1660. Their son, John, married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of the Rev. James Creswick, B.D., of Beal, near Ferry-bridge (whose manuscript *Memoirs* are named by Thoresby), and died 1722-3, leaving a son and heir, James, who married at Rochdale in 1696, Mary, daughter and co-heiress of John Brearley, of Rochdale, Gent., and dying suddenly December 18, 1718, left a son, James, Lord of the Manor of Wortley in 1764. His representative is the present Walter Hawkesworth Fawkes, of Farnley, Esq.

Isaac Farrer, Gent., a younger son of John Farrer, of Ewood, Esq., Justice of Peace, by his third wife, Judith,

daughter of Edward Oldfield, of High Oldfield, in the parish of Halifax, Gent., married at Rochdale, Patience; third daughter of Thomas Buckley, of Little Howarth, Gent., third son; and eventually heir general, of Abel Buckley, of Buckley, Esq. Isaac Farrer died at Rochdale in 1708, and his widow in 1721.

The Buckleys were connected by marriage with their neighbours, the Howarths of Howarth; and several of the other families mentioned by James in his Poem were either nearly or remotely allied to them. The following slight Pedigree will show that a connection also existed between the Farrers of Ewood and the Heywoods; but their precise degree of relationship to the author of the *Iter* still remains to be discovered.



Line 357, '*Amongst y^e Dingles and y^e Apennines.*'—These words appear to refer to the mountainous district of country, diversified by romantic valleys and dells (commonly called dingles), lying between the Ribble and the Mersey. The description, however, is peculiarly applicable to the scenery in the neighbourhood of Heywood and Rochdale.—C.

Lines 359-62, ——— ‘*When all England is alofte
Then happie they whose dwelling’s in
Christ’s crofte.
And where thincke you this crofte of
Christ should be
But midst Ribchefters Ribble and Mercy?*’—

This old rhyming proverb is not given in Ray’s Collection, nor in that of Grose.

Like some others of the same kind, it serves for different counties besides Lancashire. In Yorkshire it is given thus:—

“When all the world shall be aloft,
Then Hallamshire shall be God’s croft,” &c.—C.

A very few years later all this was falsified. James concluded that no place in England was so secure against disturbance in time of war as the part of Lancashire between Mersey and Ribble, and that this must be the traditional ‘Christ’s crofte.’ But none the less was this identical district the scene of some of the most desperate fights in the Civil War, and was ravaged in turn by the armies of both sides.—A.

Line 363, ‘*My passadge hether I not liste to tell.*’—The author here starts off to the subject of another excursion which he had made.—C.

Line 364, ‘*Though then I sawe Saint Anne and Buckstones well.*’—There appears to be little doubt that the warm springs at Buxton were known to the Romans, and that the lead mines also in this neighbourhood were worked by them, as alluded to by James. The warm baths at

Buxton began to be in much repute in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and have continued so ever since.—C.

Line 367, '*At Casteltoun,*' &c.—He visited Castleton, Eldon Hole, Poole's Cave, Wingates, and other places of note in the Peak district of Derbyshire. The strange and changing waters at Castleton must refer to the ebbing and flowing well on the road between Buxton and Castleton. "Long-founding Elden-hole" is a deep vertical cavern, two miles from Castleton, which was once considered unfathomable; but a Mr. Lloyd went down the chafin in 1781 and found a bottom at the depth of sixty-two yards. Poole's Hole is an interesting cavern about half a mile from Buxton. The Wingates or Wind-gates is a deep ravine a mile in length, traversed by a mountain road from Buxton to Chapel-en-le-Frith.—A.

Line 370, '*mole-warps,*' i.e. moles. It is so used by Shakespeare and other old writers. Thus Hotspur, in the *First Part of Henry IV.* iii. 1—

"Sometimes he angers me
With telling me of the *mold-warp* and the ant."—C.

See Todd's *Johnson*, f. v. "mouldwarp."—G.

Line 371, '*wall-tiding,*' i.e. wave-tiding. See Wall, a wave. Jamieson's *Scottish Dict.* This alludes, of course, to the ebbing and flowing well near Tidefwell. See note on line 323.—C.

Line 372, '*His worships breetch.*'—We cannot but admire the delicacy with which James here alludes to the popular name of the celebrated cavern at Castleton.—C.

Line 375, '*Chetwyn.*'—Sir Walter Chetwynd, of Ingeſtrie, in the county of Stafford, Knt., was the eldeſt ſon of Sir William Chetwynd, Knt., who died June 14, 1612, by his firſt wife, Atalanta Huick, of Stilleſted, in the county of Kent. Sir Walter Chetwynd was ſheriff of Staffordſhire in 1607, and married, firſt, Mary, daughter and heiress of John Molyns, of the county of Somerſet, Eſq., by whom he had no iſſue; ſecondly, the Lady Catherine Haſtings, eldeſt daughter of George, fourth Earl of Huntingdon, and widow of Sir Edward Unton, by whom he had two ſons, Walter, his heir, and John, the father of the firſt Lord Chetwynd.

Walter Chetwynd, of Ingeſtrie, Eſq., his eldeſt ſon and heir, married Frances, daughter of Edward Haſlerigg, Eſq. She ſurvived her huſband, and married, ſecondly, Sir Wolſtan Dixie, Knt., and died in 1686. This Walter Chetwynd was ſucceeded by his only ſon, Walter Chetwynd, of Ingeſtrie, Eſq., the celebrated antiquary (Biſhop Nicholſon's "*venerandæ antiquitatis cultor maximus*"), who rebuilt the Church at Ingeſtrie in 1677, and died without iſſue 21ſt March, 1692-3.

We are not aware that any relationship or connection exiſted between Sir Walter Chetwynd, James's "hoaſt of honour," and his other friends mentioned in the poem. It does not, however, follow, that anything more than friendſhip or acquaintance ſhould have exiſted, to have brought them together; and doubtleſs, at the table of his friend Sir Robert Cotton, James would meet with many learned and diſtinguiſhed individuals, who would honour

him for his erudition; and, from his knowledge of foreign countries, find him an agreeable companion.—C.

Line 375, '*Crewe*.'—This was Sir Randolph Crewe, who purchased the Manor and Lordship of Crewe, about the year 1610, from the heirs of Sir Christopher Hatton, Knt., and built the present hall at Crewe, which was completed about 1636. The Lordship of Crewe had from a very early period been the seat and inheritance of a family of this name, Henry de Criwa, or Crewe, being an attesting witness to a deed executed so early as the middle of the twelfth century. Joan, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Thomas de Crewe, who died 21st Edw. I., the last heir-male of the elder branch of the family, married Richard Praers of Barthomley, whose grand-daughter, Elizabeth, conveyed Crewe by her marriage to Sir Robert Fullehurst, Knt. (see on l. 17), from whose descendants it was purchased by Sir Christopher Hatton, Knt., afterwards Lord Chancellor in 1578.

Sir Randolph Crewe, the restorer of this branch of the family to the seat of their ancestors, was born in 1558, bred up to the study of the law, in which he was so successful as to be appointed Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, which office, however, he held for only two years. He attained the age of eighty-seven years, and dying January 13, 1645, was buried at Barthomley.—C.

Line 377, '*To y^e young heyre of Speke*.'—This would probably be Edward, son of William Norris, Esq., and Margaret his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Salisbury, Knt., of Chawens, in the county of Denbigh. He died early in life in 1664, having married Frances, daughter of Sir

Thomas Powell, Knt., of Horsley, in the county of Denbigh; and leaving no issue male surviving, the estate passed to his brother Thomas, born September 23, 1618, and died July 6, 1700.—C.

Line 377, '*In Stevens right.*'—Alan le Noreis, or Norris, of Sutton, in the county of Lancaster, with whom the Pedigree begins, occurs in a deed, sans date, but probably as old as the middle of the twelfth century; and this reference no doubt is to King Stephen. The sixth in descent from Alan le Norris was Sir William, who obtained the Manor of Speke by marriage with Jane, daughter and heiress of Sir John Molyneux, of Sefton, Knt. This Alan le Norris might be the "old Sire" who fought at the Battle of the Standard.—C.

Line 378, '*Whose old Sire did y^e standards battle fight.*'—The battle of the Standard was fought at Northallerton, in Yorkshire, on the 22nd August, 1138, in the reign of King Stephen, when David, King of Scotland, who had advanced into Yorkshire in support of the title of his niece, the Empress Matilda, the only legitimate child of Henry I., to the throne of England, against the usurpation of Stephen, was totally defeated by some of the powerful Barons of the North, and narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the English. It was called the battle of the *Standard* from a high crucifix erected by the English on a waggon, and carried along with the army as a military ensign.—C.

Lines 379-80, '*And from whose house and name of late
were seene*

*Two chiefs of warre unto our mayden
Queene.*'—

One of these would be Sir William Norris, of Speke, K.B. at the coronation of King James I. He married Helen, daughter of Sir William Molyneux, of Sefton, Knt., by whom he had issue, seven sons and four daughters, and died about 1626. The other was doubtless Sir John Norris, Knt., a brave and accomplished General in the reign of Elizabeth. He was the second son of Henry Norris, of Wytham, in the county of Berks, summoned to Parliament by the title of Baron Norris, of Rycot, in the county of Oxford, by Margaret, daughter of John Lord Williams, of Thame. He is said to have had three horses killed under him in one day, whilst fighting abroad in the Netherlands. He was sent over to Ireland as commander in the reign of Elizabeth, and died there unmarried in 1597, of grief and disappointment at not having been appointed Deputy of Ireland on the recalling of Sir William Russell, Knt. The Earl of Abingdon is the present representative of the Rycot branch of the Norris family.—See Torre's MSS. vol. v. p. 767, folio, and Fuller's *Worthies*, Lond. 1662, folio, p. 335.—C.

Line 381, '*To Rigby of y^e Hut.*'—We are not confident in our conjectures respecting this person, but we believe him to be Col. Alexander Rigby, the Parliamentary Commander, and friend of Col. Afsheton, also visited by James. He was the eldest son and heir of Alexander Rigby, of Wigan and Peel, in the county of Lancaster, Esq., by Alice, daughter of Leonard A—Shaw or Ashaw, of the Shaw, in the county of Lancaster, Esq. He was born in the year 1592 (the same year that James was

born), being æt. twenty-one at the time the Visitation of Lancashire was taken in 1613, and was brought up to the profession of the law; but, in those spirit-stirring times, exchanged his pen for a sword, and became a distinguished commander in the service of the Parliament, and was actively employed at the siege of Lathom House in 1644. He represented Wigan in Parliament in 1640, and married Lucy, sister to Thomas Legh, of Adlington, Esq. He was the elder brother of George Rigby, of Peel, Esq., to whom the estate of Peel appears to have descended, who was clerk of the Peace for the county of Lancaster, married Beatrix, eldest daughter of William Hulton, of Hulton Park, Esq., and rebuilt the Hall at Peel in 1634. From the Rigbys the estate passed into the family of Kenyon, by the marriage of Roger Kenyon with Alice Rigby, and is now the property of the Right Honourable George, second Lord Kenyon. According to Dugdale, Col. Alexander Rigby was of 'Middleton in Goosnargh,' near Preston, and died in 1650. We are unable to state why he is called 'of y^e Hut,' which at that time belonged to the family of the Irelands.—See Ormerod's *Civil War Tracts*, p. 351.—C. The 'Hut' was a large old mansion in the township of Hale-wood and parish of Childwall, near Liverpool.—A. It seems clear that though mansion and estate in 1636 belonged to John Ireland, Esq., father of Sir Gilbert Ireland, the Poet's friend Rigby was occupant of the former at least, as tenant I suppose.—G.

Line 382, '*We plentie had of Claret.*'—"Port wine was usually called Claret in the North (in 1691), as it is still

by the common people." See Whitaker's *Whalley*, p. 478, third edition.—C.

Line 383, '*To Sander Butterworth whose ledd mee cleane,*' &c.—This was Alexander Butterworth, second son of Alexander Butterworth, Esq. (who died in 1623), by his wife, Grace, daughter of William Asheton, of Clegg Hall, in the parish of Rochdale, Esq., and co-heiress of her sole brother, Dr. Theophilus Asheton, a lawyer. He was of the ancient family of Butterworth, of Butterworth in the parish of Rochdale, seated there early in the reign of Stephen, who removed in 2 Edward I. to Belfield Hall, adjacent to the banks of the Beile, in the same parish (which had formerly been part of the possessions of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem). He was baptized at Rochdale, 10th April, 1597, and was dead in 1664-5. The last heir-male of this ancient family was Alexander Butterworth, of Belfield Hall, Esq., High Sheriff of Lancashire in 1675. He married Sarah, daughter of William Horton, of Barkisland, in the county of York, Esq., by whom he had several children, all of whom he survived; and dying in 1728, æt. eighty-eight years, devised his large estates in Lancashire and Cheshire, and the whole of his personalty, to his agent, Mr. Richard Townley, of Rochdale, a stranger in blood (said to be a descendant of the Townleys of Royle, near Burnley), and great grandfather of Richard Greaves Townley, of Fulbourn, Esq., late M.P. for the county of Cambridge, by whom they are now possessed. Colonel Richard Townley, in the year 1752, repaired and new-fronted the old Hall of Belfield; which, however, is now deserted by its owners, and has been for

some years occupied by wealthy and respectable tenants.—C.

Line 384, '*Through all y^e cataracts of Heale dene.*'—The hamlet of Healey (Highfield), in the township of Spotland, is remarkable for its deep and woody dingles, or ravines, in which the Spodden "struggles for its passage through a channel of excavated rock;" and forms by the way several small falls, or "cataracts," before it empties itself into the Roach. In this hamlet, placed on an elevated site, immediately above one of these woody dingles, and commanding an unbounded prospect over the surrounding country, as far as the forest of Delamere, stands Healey Hall, the abode, for a long period, of the ancient family of the Chadwicks, and still the occasional residence of its present proprietor, Hugo Mavesyn Chadwick, of Mavesyn Ridware, in Staffordshire, Esq. The house, though standing high on the skirts of the hills, is well sheltered by growing plantations, which, "added to the natural beauties of its hanging woods, rocks, and rude cascades, form some delightful scenery on the romantic banks of the Spodden."

The family of the Chadwicks were nearly connected with the author's friends, the Heywoods; John Chadwick, of Healey Hall, Esq., having, in 1551, married Agnes, daughter of James Heywood, of Heywood, gent. He died in 1615, having attained the patriarchal age of 103, and is buried in Rochdale Church. Robert Chadwick, of Healey Hall, Esq., also married Alice, daughter of Edward Butterworth, of Belfield, gent., in 1581, who was the aunt of Alexander Butterworth mentioned in the preceding note,

which may account for the ramble commemorated in the Poem, had not the splendid scenery of Healey Deyne, which retains some of its ancient and romantic features even in our day, been a sufficient inducement for the visit.—C.

Lines 385-6, '*To Robin Howorth from whose familie
Great Noble peers derive their progenie.*'—

This was Robert Howorth of Howorth, Esq., in the township of Hundersfield or Honorsfeld, in the eastern portion of the parish of Rochdale, on the borders of Yorkshire, descended from an ancient family seated there in the time of Henry II., who bestowed certain lands in Howord, in the vill of Honorsfeld, upon Osbert Howord de Howord, for his good and faithful services, and made him Master of the Royal Buck Hounds. Robert Howorth was the twenty-second in lineal descent from this Osbert de Howord, whose name appears in a deed without date, but undoubtedly of the time of Henry II. He was son and heir of Edmund Howarth, of Howarth Hall, Esq., and was baptized at Rochdale in 1601. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Lieut.-Col. Alvery Copley, of Batley, in the county of York, and was buried with his ancestors in the chancel of Rochdale Church, March 28, 1639. His only surviving son, Robert, dying in London unmarried in 1654 (having been called to the Bar a short time previously), the estates reverted to Theophilus Howarth, M.D., of Manchester,¹

¹ Theophilus Howarth, M.D., of Howarth Hall, was baptized at Rochdale, 2nd January, 1613-14; entered of Magdalen College, Cambridge, M.D., July 2, 1661; married Mary, daughter of Henry

whose grandson, the Rev. Radclyffe Howarth, D.C.L., Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxon. (being Founder's kin), died unmarried in December, 1768, and by Will, dated 13th October, 1767, devised his lands in the parish of Rochdale, not to the daughters of his aunt, but to Miss Elizabeth Sams, a descendant of the Buckleys, of Buckley, a lady apparently unconnected by any near ties except those of friendship, by whom the Howarth estate was sold to John Entwisle, of Foxholes, Esq., grandfather of the present possessor.—C.

Line 386, '*Great Noble peers derive their progenie.*'—Dr. Whitaker, in his *Hist. Whalley*, p. 544-5, 3rd edit., has entered very minutely into this supposition by James of the Ducal family of the Howards being derived from the Howards or Howarths of Howarth Hall, in Honorsfeld, and has shown that Sir William Dugdale is unable to bring forward any proof of the existence of such a connection. Dugdale's allusion to this subject, and to Richard James, B.D., is in the following words, transcribed from the original:—

Ashurst, of Ashurst, in the county of Suffex, Esq.; and was a resident in Manchester, where he was an able and active Magistrate, and much esteemed by the Royalist party. He died on the 9th of April, 1671, at Manchester, where he had distinguished himself by his fidelity to the cause of Charles I., and was buried on the 12th of the same month, within the Vaults of the Collegiate Church. He was an attesting witness to the Will of Humphrey Chetham, December 8, 1651, and had doubtless attended that good and charitable person in his last illness.—See the *Life of Adam Martindale*, p. 193, and Mr. Parkinson's Note on the same.—C.

“Venerabilis viri Richardi Jameſii, Vectenſis, de præclariffimorum et honoratiſſimorum Howardorum ortu et origine judicium et teſtimonium. *Iter Lancaſtrenſe* a venerabile viro Richardo Jameſio, Vectenſi, ſacro ſanctæ Theologiæ Bac: è Coll. Corporio Chriſti Oxon. Socio ſeniori, nec non celeberrimi Antiquarii Roberti Cottoni Militis Aurati amiciffimo, heroico metro compoſitum (Añ ſervatoris milleſimo ſexen^{mo} trigefimo ſeptimo) prænobiles et honoratiſſimos Howardorum duces comites Barones ab Howardorum de Howard Hall (in Honorsfield in Parochiâ de Rachdale in Com. Lancaſtriæ) ortum et illuſtrem ſtemmatis originem deduxiſſe conteſtatur, Will. Dugdale Arm. Norroij Rex Armor: heroicos Richardi Jameſii verſus perlegit cujus ſententiæ præfatus W. D. ſubſcripto propriâ manu.”

In the poſſeſſion of John Elliott, Eſq., of Rochdale, there exiſts another document, in Engliſh, to the ſame effect, in the handwriting of Dugdale, a copy of which was inſerted, by Mr. Elliott's permiſſion, in Baines' *Hiſt. of Lancaſh.* vol. ii. p. 643; and as it varies a little from the former ſtatement, and alſo mentions the place of cuſtody of the original MS. of the *Iter Lancaſtrenſe* at that period, it is here added:—

“Whereas I, William Dugdale, eſquire, Norroy Principall Herald, and Kinge of Armes of the Northerne parts of England, or the further ſide of Trent, have ſeene and read a MS. entitled, ‘*Iter Lancaſtrenſe*,’ or the ‘*Lancaſhire Itinerary*,’ written by Richard James, born in the Iſle of Wight, Bachelor of Divinity, and one of the Senior Fellows

of Corpus Christi College, in Oxford ; a diligent reseacher into, and a great lover of ancient records, an intimate acquaintance and friend of the famous and learned antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, Knt., which he writ in heroicke verse, with large marginal notes, in the year of our Lord God 1637 :—I doe hereby make known to all the Nobility and Gentry of England that the ‘Iter Lancastrense’ doth attest and beare record that the Illustrious Dukes, the Honourable Earls, the Noble Barons, and Knights of the renowned family of the Howards, did derive their originall from the ancient progeny of the Howords of Howord Hall, in the vill, or territorie of Howord, in Honorsfeld, in the parish of Ratchdale, and county of Lancaster ; which said MS. being by me, William Dugdale aforefaid, perused, and nowe in the custody of Theophilus Howard of Howard, Doctor of Physicke, and one of the candidates of the Colledge of Physitians in London,—I, for record and testimony of these things above specified, sett to my hand and seale of my office, the 8th of April, 1665 ; 17th of Chas. II.

“WILLM. DUGDALE,

NORROY KING OF ARMES.”

It is somewhat remarkable that no account exists in the Herald’s College respecting this instance of what Whitaker terms “the capacious faith” of Dugdale ; nor is there any notice of the Lancashire Howarths in his account of the ducal house of Howard, in *The Baronage*. A short pedigree, not very carefully deduced, is the only notice of this truly ancient family now remaining in the former depository.—C.

Line *ibid.* Margin-note, '*Howarth castle.*'—There is no memorial of such a place in Rochdale, unless the Howarths were the descendants of the old Lords of Rochdale, who are supposed to have occupied the *Castle* in Castleton, which is very doubtful, and not on record.—C.

Line *ibid.* Margin-note, '*Thomæ de Haworth.*'—Thomas de Haworth, son and heir of William de Haworth, of Haworth Hall, in the parish of Rochdale, by his wife Alice, daughter of Hugh del Holte, in Butterworth, in the parish aforesaid.

Thomas Haworth married, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, whilst yet a minor, Margaret, daughter of — Mylne, of Mylne House, in Hundersfield; but the marriage does not appear to have been solemnized, and was probably only a contract afterwards annulled.

He married secondly, Annette, daughter of William de Butterworth, of Butterworth, in the parish of Rochdale, a female related in the second degree to Margaret; and being 'sybbe,' the marriage was pronounced invalid. By this wife he had a son, Hugh de Haworth, living in 1448—1461.

He married thirdly, during the lives of his first two wives, at Heptonstall Church, in the county of York, Sir John de Bury being the officiating Priest, Isabella, daughter of William de Butterworth, and sister of Annette aforesaid, ante October 16, 1416, and by her had issue, Edmund and four other sons, and a daughter, married to Elias de Deurden.

In the 30th Henry VI. 1452, considerable litigation en-

fued between Hugh de Haworth and Edmund de Haworth, respecting the inheritance of their father's lands, he being alive, but not knowing which son was his legal heir. To legalize his second marriage, he obtained a divorce from his third wife, and declared that Hugh was his right heir. But afterwards, when he came to lie upon his death-bed, he acknowledged, in the presence of many witnesses, that Edmund was his lawful heir, and that he devised his lands to him. This was on the 13th March, 1461.

The whole of these legal proceedings, and the subsequent very curious disputes between Edmund and his cousin Bernard de Haworth, son of James, next brother of Thomas de Haworth, who claimed the lands as heir-at-law, and was living 9th Edw. IV. 1470, are still amongst the Haworth Evidences.

There seems to be little doubt that this "parliamentane pardon of Henrye y^e fixts time," mentioned in the sidenote, had some connection with these extraordinary marriages, which even at that period excited a very strong feeling of disapprobation throughout the country.

Perhaps it ought to be added, that after a variety of contrary opinions had been pronounced, both by ecclesiastics and laymen, Edmund de Haworth succeeded as heir of his father.—C.

Line 387, '*To Roman Nowell*.'—Roger Nowell, Esq., of Read Hall, near Clitheroe, baptized March 13, 1605, a colonel in Charles I.'s service, deputy-lieutenant, and a justice of the peace for the county of Lancaster. He married Dorothy, daughter of John Holte, of Stubley Hall,

near Rochdale, Esq., and, dying at the advanced age of ninety years, was buried at Whalley, May 25, 1695. He was one of the twenty gentlemen of this county who for their loyalty were returned, in 1660, as qualified to be made Knights of the Royal Oak, his estate being estimated at £1,000 per annum. The arms of the family are engraved in Whitaker's *Hist. Whalley*, p. 264, edit. 3rd. His marriage with Dorothy Holte would bring him into affinity with the Heywoods, through the Greenhalghs, and Holtes of Ashworth.—C.

Line 387, '*Roman Nowell*.'—For the addition of the word *Roman*, as applied to Nowell, see the marginal note at the end of the poem, and the reference to Pliny.—C. On all the Nowells, it may be permitted me to refer to the Nowell Townley MSS. 1 vol. 4to. 1877.—G.

Line *ibid*. Margin-note, '*y^e three cups*.'—"The word Nowell, or Noel, a corruption of *Natalis*, meaning *Deus nobiscum*, indicates the festival of our Lord's Nativity, and likewise a cry of joy appropriate to the season, and by degrees came to signify a convivial cry in general; in which sense it appears to have been in use as late as the days of Chaucer.¹

"Of the occasion on which the name was assumed, or imposed perhaps on some one eminent for his festive talents,

¹ "And drinketh of his bugle horn the wine:
Before him stant braune of the tusked swine,
And *nowel* crieth every lvyty man."

See Tyrwhitt's edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, line 11,567, 4to. Oxford, 1798; and Mr. Tyrwhitt's note upon it.

there is no tradition ; but whether the Christmas cry, or the Christmas cup, like the wassail bowl (et calices pocit majores), were the distinct meaning, there is no doubt that the covered cups in the family arms allude to the circumstance ; and as heraldry delights in such devices or parodies, three similar cups in the escutcheon of Butler unquestionably allude to the name and office of a butler or cupbearer."

The Nowells probably were followers of the Lacies out of Normandy. Robert Noell is the first that appears in Lancashire, being the last subscribing witness but one to the memorable grant by Roger de Lacy of the Villa de Tunleia to Geoffrey, son of Robert, Dean of Whalley.—See Archdeacon Churton's *Life of Dr. Alexander Nowell*, 8vo., pp. 1, 2.—C.

Line 387, '*Ashton of Penkith*.'—Thomas Asheton, of Penketh, son and heir of Hamlet Asheton, of Blakebrook, by his wife Christiana, eldest daughter and co-heiress of John Asheton, of Penketh, gent., which estate her son Thomas inherited in her right. He married Catherine, daughter of Robert Brocke, of Upton, in Cheshire ; and was nephew of Robert Heywood, of Heywood, the elder, who had married Margaret, the younger daughter and co-heiress of the above John Asheton, of Penketh, gent. Thomas Asheton, of Penketh, our author's friend, was one of those who suffered for their loyalty to King Charles I. ; and was fined in the sum of £192 8s. 4d. A pedigree of this family, of eight descents, occurs in the last *Visitation of Lancashire*. The Manor or Lordship of Penketh is situated in the parish of Prescot, and came into the possession of the

Ashetons by the marriage of Richard Asheton with Margaret, sole daughter and heiress of Richard Penketh, of Penketh. It is now the property of Lord Lilford.—C.

Line 388, '*Ireland of Hale*.'—John Ireland, Esq., son of Sir Gilbert Ireland, of Hutt and Hale, Knight, and father of Sir Gilbert Ireland, of the same, descended from Sir Robert Ireland, of Hutt, Knt. temp. King John. He died in 1635, having married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Hayes, Knight, Alderman and Lord Mayor of London. This poem being dated 1636, would be written shortly after the death of John Ireland, to whom the allusion is probably made, as his son Gilbert, born April 8, 1624, would be too young to be the Poet's friend. The Lordship of Hale is now [1845] possessed by John Ireland Blackburne, Esq., M.P. for Warrington.—C.

Line 388, '*To all my Heywoods*.'—See note on l. 4, at the commencement of the poem.—C.

Line 389, '*Brock*.'—This probably refers to William Brocke, of Upton, in the county of Chester, Esq. He was born about 1595, was a member of the Inner Temple in London, and married Anne, daughter and co-heiress of Robert Mohun, of Baynton, in the county of Dorset, Esq., by whom he had several children. He died on the 4th April, 1640, and was buried on the 8th, at St. Mary's Church, in Chester. He was the relative of Asheton, of Penketh, by the marriage of his sister Catherine with that gentleman, and of Robert Heywood. On the death of William Brock, Esq., in 1734, the great-grandson of the above, the manor of Upton passed into the family of the

Egertons, of Oulton, by the marriage of his eldest sister and co-heiress, Elizabeth, to John Egerton, of Oulton, Esq.—See Ormerod's *Hist. Chesh.*, vol. ii. p. 444.—C.

Line 389, '*Holcroft.*'—Thomas, eldest son of Geoffrey Holcroft, of Hurst, Esq., married Winefred, daughter of Mr. Christopher Tonge, of Tonge Hall, in the parish of Prestwich, and died about 1638; being succeeded by his son Geoffrey, æt. 49, September 23rd, 1664. The family of Holcroft was connected with the Irelands of Hale, Hopwoods of Hopwood, Bamfords of Bamford, and other kinsfolk of the Heywoods.—C.

Line 389, '*Holt.*'—The family of Holt, here alluded to, is probably that of Ashworth Hall, in the parish of Middleton, from its relation to the Heywoods. Richard, son and heir of Robert Holt, of Ashworth, Esq., married his cousin Jane (sister of Mrs. Peter Heywood), the youngest daughter of John Greenhalgh, of Brandlefome Hall, Esq.; being the fourth instance, in as many successive generations, of marriages being solemnized between members of these two wealthy and ancient families. Richard Holt, Esq., was buried in Middleton Church, September 28th, 1668.—C.

II.
THE MUSES DIRGE.
1625.

NOTE.

The 'Muses Dirge' is of extreme rarity. Our reproduction is derived from the only known exemplar, in the British Museum (fm. 4°). The late Mr. Corser seems to have been utterly ignorant of it. See Introduction for more on this longest poetical flight of James and notices of certain names and words in the poem.—G.

THE
MUSE
DIRGE,

CONSECRATED TO
the Remembrance of the High and
Mightie Monarch, JAMES, by the Grace of
God, late King of Great Brittain, France,
and Ireland; Who deceased at *Theobalds*,
vpon Sunday, being the seuen and twen-
tieth of March, 1625.

Written by *Richard James*, Master of
Arts, and Preacher of Gods Word at *Stoke-*
Newington, in the Countie of *Middle-*
sex, neere LONDON.



LONDON,
Printed by *A. M.* and *I. N.* for *Iohn Browne*, and
are to bee sold at his Shop in *Pauls Church-*
yard, at the Signe of the
Crane. 1625.



TO THE RIGHT
HONOURABLE EDVARD
Lord CONVVAY Barron of
RAGGLEY, and one of his Maiestie's
Principall Secretaries: And to the Right
Worshipfull Sir FRANCIS POPHAM
Knight, RICHARD IAMES
wisheth all Temporall and Spi-
ritual Happinesse.



RIGHT Honourable, and Right Worshipfull, my
publike zeale to the one of you, and my priuate
ingagements to the other, haue inuited mee to
this Dedication; In it you may see a King
dead, and liuing: dead according to the flesh, but liuing in the
monument of his vertues, which suruiue beyond all desolation,
beyond all Funeralls. Their lustre and irradiation is such,
both in the first action, and in the thence proceeding precedent
of their examples, that in themselues, they neede no Panegiris,
nor Commendation. But yet that I might expresse my zeale
to his Tombe,

as I

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

I did my obedience to his Crowne, I haue brought the myte of these Tributary Layes, to the Consecrated Altar of his remembrance. If your Candor and worthinesse entertaine them fauourably, and giue them a free and noble acceptance, the Authour shall thinke his endeauours fortunate, and shall for euer rest:

Your Honours, and your
Worships euer deuoted
Seruant.

RICHARD JAMES.

THE

(1.)

THE MVSES DIRGE.



BEhold this heape of bones, this senselesse scull !
This speaking Embleme, represents at full
Man's fraile estate ; which like vnto the grasse
Doth fade, and wither, and away doth passe
In lesse then time : So that from out the wombe
We come no sooner, but vnto the Tombe
We make our Course ; this being Heaue'n's decree
Since the first fruite of the forbidden Tree
Was chew'd by *Adam* ; that his seed allwayes
Should haue on Earth but few, and euill daies.
The truth whereof, we with wet eyes may see
In this sad Mirrour of Mortalitie ;

Whose dayes though Long, were euen as a Span
 To great *Iehouae's* wide all-measuring hand.
 Whose daies though good, had yet their thorny shares
 Of worldly griefes, and Scepter-circling cares.
 Which he surmounting with the powerfull strength
 Of his Seraphicke Soule, or'e swai'd at length
 Eu'n as at first; transforming all their gall
 (Which makes so many Soules sicke mortalls' thrall)
 To sweet *Nepenthe*; with whose pleasures drunke,
 Vnder their Maffe, his vigour neuer suncke

But

(2.)

But still aspir'd: Like to the Bird they call
 Of Paradice; which nere on Earth doth fall
 Though made of Earth: But still frequents the skie,
 And still amongst those Azured Orbs doth flie.
 On Earth he liuing, liu'd no earthly life
 But fly'd aboue ambition, pride, and strife:
 Aboue those finnes, which with diuision's chaine
 Plucke Man from God, and God from Man againe.
 So that whatsoeuer Lustre you could finde,
 Disperst amongst whole millions of Mankinde,
 Of different graces,—shining like rich gemmes,
 Set in the fronts of feuerall Diadems:
 All these, like Crownes, adorn'd his Royall head,
 And of them all, large stories you may reade
 In his Life Legend: Learning, Grauity,
 Soule-piercing Eloquence, rare Chaftity,

Iustice, Compassion, Pitie, Piety,
 Constancie, Prudence, Saint-like Charity :
 All these were lockt within the Syttim Chest,
 Of his retyred and Cælestial breast.
 Then as some rich perfumes being sent from farre,
 Where rising Phœbus mounts his gliftring Carre,
 Shut up in Boxes of *Arabian Gold*,
 Send from the mid't of that enclosing mould,
 An Aromatic, sweete-perfuming smell,
 Whereon the Soule and rauish't sense doth dwell :
 These vertues inthronized in that shrine,
 Which did enclose those faculties diuine,
 Sent forth vnto great Brittaines gazing view,
 An object of a bright transparent hewe ;
 His glorious Life, which all men did admire,
 As sparkling from the cleere *Promethian* fire

Of

(3.)

Of Lawe and reason ; which were still the squares
 Of all his Life, his actions, and affaires ;
 Nor thus alone did admiration grace,
 But imitation did the footsteps trace
 Of his example. That the common wealth
 Was fraught with plenty, peace, and publike health ;
 So that no members vnemploy'd did lye,
 But answer'd others with conformitie :
 All this proceeded from th' iradient light
 Of IAMES his presidents, whose splendor might

In future Ages ferue for patternes store,
 And blemish all examples wrought before.
 He was that Head from whom the Reuerend traine
 Of our Law-giuers did their motions gaine :
 He was that head from whom the States-man tooke
 His Oracles, as from some *Delphian* Booke :
 He was that head from whom the Scholler drew
 Contemplatiue and Practique *Maxims* too.
 Sixt *Henrie's* zeale, was lodg'd within his breast ;
 Seuenth *Henrie's* wifdome in his Soule did rest ;
 Third *Edward's* care his Scepter did attend ;
Elizabeth's sweet meekenesse did commend
 His Princely gouernment, as truely good,
 As it was free from slaughter-breathing bloud.
 And all these Graces in such plenteous measure,
 Were powred forth of great *Pandorus* treasure,
 Vpon his Regall selfe, that all her hoord,
 All her large *Magazin* could scarce afford
 But such another Patterne ; pleasing Peace,
 Full swelling plenty, priuate, publike ease
 Were Handmaides to his Scepter ; He that ploughes
 The Westerne Isles, and *Ireland's* slimy sloughes ;

B. 2

The

(4.)

The Redshanke which frequents that Northerne shore,
 Where *Neptune's* waues against cold Orkney roare.
 The nimble *Kerne*, who footes it or'e the paces,
 The Bogs and Quagmires, and those vncouth places,

Where *Oneal's* bastard issue, proud *Tyrone*
As *Vlster's* Monarch did himselfe inthroned :
All these reformed grew, and patternes tooke
Of life and liuing, from th' exemplar booke
Of their late Soueraigne ; whose religious care,
No cost of Coyne, no labour did forbear,
To restore Churches in th' *Hybernian* Land,
Spoyl'd by th' accursed Northerne Rebels hand :
Thus popular, and vncontrouled applause,
Did all the Current of his actions grace ;
Only that impure, pure reputed sect,
Which singular precisenesse doth affect, (tence
Which flies from Conscience, and makes gloz'd pre-
Their stalking-Horse, and their Religions essence :
Only th' Ignatian Conclauē, which adores
Their triple Mytred Prelate, and implores
His Pardon more then God's, when as they spinne
The unhallowed web of their vnuenial finne :
These were the sole enuiers of that state
Which all this continent possesse of late,
From th' influence of his most glorious Raigne,
Free from that blemish, and that menstruous stain
Which forraigne Kingdomes suffer ; and to these
Who were this Iland's burthen, and disease,
But marke his mercy : that blacke Powder-plot,
Which at the publike desolation shot,
And meant with one state and king-killing stroake,
Religion's forme and gouernement to choake :

Th' Ar-

(5.)

Th' *Argilian* Treason, nor the dreadfull bent
Of *Gowrie's* complot wanting president ;
All these Conspiracies could not enforce
Our *IAMES* to leaue his mercie's ancient course.
As knowing this to be th' Almighty's Type,
Which makes the Creature to his Creator like ;
Yet all these Graces, nor their swelling dower,
Which th' heauens did in such abundance power,
Could not once stop the Fatall Sifters knife,
Nor adde one minute to his cancel'd Life.
Not all that masse of vnexhausted store,
Which lies from *Douer* to the Northern Shore ;
Not that most awfull Scepter, nor that Crowne,
Which now the Prince's temples doth furround ;
Not all these dignities could once asswage,
The boundlesse bounds of Death's vnfatiate rage ;
Which strikes alike the Scepter, and Plough-share,
And striking doth nor King nor Pefant spare.
But ô thou scourge of Man-kind, why shouldst thou
To Kings, and Monarchs, thy destruction vow ?
O why should their Annoynted Corps endure
Thy killing Plague, thy raging Callenture ?
VVa't not enough that streames of purple blood,
Conical'd of late on *Beame-lands* surface stood ?
VVa't not enough that all *Sycambr'ia's* tract
By thy dire shafts lay desolate and facte ?
But must thy winged wrath inuade this Land,
And *Myriads* kill with that accursed hand ;

Whose rage no vulgar blood-fhed could alay,
 Nor common Carnage could thy furie stay?
 But must thy longing soule deuoure a flood
 Of more e'nobled consecrated blood?

B. 3.

And

(6.)

And like some Horfe-leach thou must sucke the veines
 Of foure thrife honour'd Peeres; whose mouing straines
 Vnder our King, did rule three Kingdomes lore,
 And in that rule a glorious portion bore.
 And could not heare thy banefull malice stop,
 But must thy fatall Axe that Cedar lop,
 That branched Tree, which shaddowed all the soyle,
 Of this Heau'ns-bleffed, and *Iames*-bleffed Ile?
 Must *Iames* dye like the rest, and die to vs,
 When we did want him most? Then dying thus,
 Shall his remembrance vnremembred passe,
 Assoone as h'is intombed in the masse
 Of's Mother Earth? Shall no *Plebeian* Verse
 Adorne the Shrine of his diuiner Hearse?
 Shall not the Muses learned Penfill raise
 Some Monument to his immortal praise?
 Shall hee that wrote *Lepantoe's* famous Story,
 And gaue a liuing lustre to the glory
 Of those time-honour'd Christians, who did fight
 Against fierce *Partaes* and *Euchalies* might?
 Shall hee that wrote vpon that thornie Care,
 Which Crownes & Scepters in their Compasse beare?

Shall hee that squar'd the *δαρὸν* Royall Gemme,
 Farre richer then his Triple Diademe,
 Wherein his sonnes/ might those Characters see,
 Which God requires in selfe-like Maiestie?
 Shall hee that did those Mysteries vnfold,
 Which blessed *Iohn* in *Pathmos* Ile foretold;
 Who did discouer all the curst shifts
 Of *Demoniacks*, and their hellish drifts?
 Shall hee that gaue the Scepter, rules to sway,
 And taught how Subiects should their King obey?

Who

(7.)

Who did defend that Oath which doth maintaine,
 The right of Monarchs, that on earth doe raigne?
 Who made *Perounes* proud Cardinall stand mute,
 And *Vorstius* Summes did learnedly confute?
 Shall hee that rayfed others from the night
 Of darke obliuion want obsequious right?
 Oh shall the Sisters three thrice-nubred Chore,
 Which walkes on *Ifis*, and on *Grantæ's* shore?
 Oh shall *Apolloe's* Laureat Conclauē bee
 So enuious vnto Iust Solemnitie;
 As not to bring their tributary Layes,
 To Frontispice the Marble of his praise?
 Not so, nor so; for sooner shall that Hill
 Whereas they sit *Achaia's* Champion fill?
 Sooner shall *Aganippe's* springs grow scant,
 And *Phæbus'* Darlings sacred liquor want,

Then that great *James* his consecrated Urne,
 Shall want Fame's Vestall flames ; which still shall burne
 Till Time's last period, and shall neuer die,
 Till all things fade, except Eternitie.
 For waft not that the Muses stood at gaze
 Vpon that Sunne ; whose splendor did amaze
 Their dazeled senses ? Waft not that his life
 Within their doubtfull Iudgements raif'd a strife,
 And made their Consort to demurre at large,
 Before they durst to vndergoe this charge ;
 Thinking their outward Varnish might deface
 His inward worth, perfection, forme and grace ;
 Had it not been their candor scornes to giue
 Fame's Funeralls to Princes whilst they liue ?
 Or that their Synode did desire to see
 The finall Act of his Mortalitie ?

Some

(8.)

Some *Johnson*, *Drayton*, or some *Herick* would
 Before this time haue charactred the Mould
 Of his perfections ; and in liuing Lines,
 Haue made them knowne before these mourning times.
 Nor was our *James* his life more firme and sure,
 More free, and spotlesse, sublimate and pure ;
 Then was his farewell to this sinfull earth,
 Which brought him to Eternitie's first birth :
 So that a fruitfull Panegericke field,
 His Life and Death vnto the Learned yeeld ;

R

Where after all the volumes of their praise,
 Their fable sheets, and Elegiacke Layes,
 They may conclude, *Iames* liu'd and died so well,
 That Life and Death in him were parallell.
 His life, was not like some *Aprilian* blast,
 Which endeth in a cloudy storme at last.
 Nor was it like some *Riuers*'s Chrifall fource,
 Which muddy runnes in his continued courfe :
 For as he liu'd, so did this Monarch die,
 And left for patterne to Posteritie,
 The bright examples of his life and death,
 Shining like *Leda's* twinnes, on heauen, on earth.
 Thus to be brieft, he liu'd and dyed so well,
 That Life and Death stroue both which should excell.
 For when that *Galen's* skill could not appease
 The raging of his Callentur'd difease ;
 When Death approached, and the fatall knife
 Began to touch the cordiall strings of life :
 Hee knowing, that th' Egyptian tottering reed
 Of humane helpe, and succour could not steed
 His Soule in this distresse ; did not relye
 Vpon that broken Collumne, but did flie

To

(9.)

To that all-helping, and all-healing hand,
 Which for his good, still moouing, still did stand.
 His Conscience being iealous of those faults,
 Of those transgressiue crimes, and those defaults,

Which prest his Soule ; before his finall gaspe,
Their Counting-booke he plainly did vnclasp,
And fully did confesse that Masse of Sinne,
Which hee from's youth to's elder Age did spinne ;
He knowing true repentance for to bee
A second *Jordan* for that Leprosie,
Which ouerspreads the Soule ; and that the Balme
Of *Marie's* teares was soueraigne for his harme.
Hee grinds his carnall heart, and straight relents,
Hee flies from Law to Grace, and then repents
For all those finnes, which raise the parting wall,
And make the creature from th' Creator fall :
Hee grieues for them, as though hee meant no more
To grieue for finnes, like to those finnes before.
Then mounted on the Cherub of his Faith,
Hee thus and thus to his Redeemer saith :
The dreadfull terrours of the gaping Graue
Cannot my Courage, nor my Zeale deprave :
I know that Death eu'n with his grimmeſt face,
Can but this rotten Houſe of clay deface,
And that, that laſt *Omega* well to die,
Is but the *Alpha* to Eternitie.
I know my finnes are great, and that their fright
Might iuſtly bring an euerlaſting night
Vpon my penſiue Soule ; but that my Hope,
Ioyn'd with a liuely Faith, doth vnder-prop
Theſe humane frailties, and doe make mee flie
From Feare's ſad Manſion, to that Chriſtall Skie

Where

(10.)

Where my Redeemer liues, who doth receiue
 All those who leaue finne, before finne them leaue.
 But though my faults be great, my priuate sence
 Doth thus farre comfort my sad Conscience,
 That though they be, of a vermillion die
 I neuer yet left my fidelitie
 To Faith nor true Religion ; but did lay
 My sole foundation on that Rockie staie :
 This was the Pole, the Pillar, and the light,
 Which did direct my sinne-eschewing fight
 From the first day, that I this light did see
 To this last act of my mortalitie.
 Then calling for the sacred Bread and Wine,
 Which powerfully doth man and God combine,
 He takes it from that learned Prelat's hand,
 Which *Lincolne's* Sea rules as Diocesā ;
 And this he did vpon that glorious day,
 VVherein he first did *England's* Scepter sway,
 Twife had the Sunne his smoaking Axle steep't,
 Within the Billowes of the Westerne deepe,
 When *Saturne* look't vpon the third daie's light,
 With a malignant, ill fore-boading sight ;
 For two howres after that sad middaie's date
 Hee lost his Speech ; which did prognosticate
 The dire disafter of this Monarch's death ;
 Who next day left/ that Mansion house of earth,
 And laid his Royall earthly Scepter downe,
 To put on heau'n's immortalized Crowne.

But after that his speech began to faile,
 And pale-fac't Death did eu'ry sence affaile ;
 When as they prai'd or read, to those sweete lines
 He gaue consent with cleere transparent signes,

By

(II.)

By lifting up his hands, his armes, his eies,
 To him that dwels aboue th' all-Circling skies.
 But on the Sunday morne, foure howres before
 The Sunne saluted *England's* Easterne shore ;
 Hee calling for his Sonne, lifts vp his head,
 By *Ramfey's* helpe, from off the fatall bed,
 Where his last act was kissing of his Sonne,
 And his last words were calling still vpon
 His Princely CHARLES ; who did euen melt,
 For those sad paines which dying JAMES then felt.
 Hence in the mid't of those suspitious feares,
 That mas of woes, those Cataracks of teares,
 His Royall Race, his Stock that's left behind,
 May in their mourning thoughts this comfort finde ;
 That all's not dead ; for one part is ascended,
 T'other being dust, to dust is now descended ;
 Whereas a pawne ingag'd that mortall lies,
 Till glorified immortall it shall rise.
 And as for me though that blacke Sundaie's light,
 Whereon grim *Saturne* look't as blacke as night,
 And th' heauen's powr'd such stormes of melting sho-
 Out of *Aquarius* tempest-breathing bowres ; (wres,

And wept as though his Loffe they did lament,
 In whom the world receiu'd so much content.
 Although that day shall ne're be registred
 In my sad thoughts, nor once be kalendred
 Amongst the white ones, but be mark'd for bad
 Prodigious, Dismall, Ominous, and Sad.
 Yet this shall be a Cordiall to my mind,
 Vertues did adde before, Fame adds behind,
 Life to his life; which shall for euer last
 Beyond Time's power, and false detraction's blast;

Yet

(12.)

Yet this shall be my comfort, that his Throne
 VVants not a CHARL's fit for succeffion;
 Vnder whose Raigne, this Sea-deuided Land,
 VVhich runnes from *Kantium* to th' *Orcadian* Strand;
 Vnder whose Raigne, fat *Ireland* and faire *France*
 Shall lift up their deiected countenance
 VVith mirth and gladnesse. For no forraigne foe,
 This *Neptune*-girdled Monarchie shall know
 Nor feele within her entralls; no State cankers,
 With publike miseries shall glut their rankors;
 No Court-*Hyrudoes* shall make Iustice bleede,
 Nor on the Commons' defolation feede;
Elizae's dayes shall once againe returne,
 And *JAMES* his daies rise out of *JAMES* his vrne.
 Let vs not then who doe furuiue him here
 In this darke vale, with fable mourning-cheere

Lament him more, since he doth live, though dead,
 Within his CHARLES ; since that his glorious head
 Is Heau'n-Thronized, where he now doth sing
Alleluia's to the Cœlestiall King,
 Among't the winged troopes ; where he now sees
 The perfect shape of faith's darke misteries ;
 And that not in a glasse, but face to face
 Reflected from the splendor of that grace,
 Which giues us faith below ; and then aboue,
 Immortall Knowledge, Wisedome, Truth and Loue.

Annagra-

(13.)

Anagramata Anglica-Latina,

OR

Certaine Anagrams applied vnto the
 death of our late Soueraigne King
 IAMES of blessed Memorie.

KING IAMES.

I am seeking.

What didst thou seeke, O *Iames*, Great Brittain's
 King?

Wast Scepters more, or Diadems, to bring
 Vnto thy rule? or sought's thou to subdue
 By subtile Plots, or *Mars* his warlike crew

Thy smooth-tong'd foes? who had they had but power
 Would not haue spar'd, blood-forming showers to poure
 Vpon thy Selfe, thy Kingdome, and thy Race;
 But would haue fought Great Brittain to deface,
 And doe to thee, as they haue done to those
 Whom iust pretences made them lawfull foes.
 Or did'st thou seeke by force to make the *Rhine*
 Re-acknowledge homage to the *Palatine*?
 Or fought'st thou by new conquests to obtaine
 Another World vpon the Westerne maine?
 Not thus, nor thus, for thy diuiner bent
 Did neuer rest vpon the Firmament
 Of these proiections; for thy chiefeft aime
 Was Heau'n on Earth, and from Earth Heau'n to gaine;
 On Earth, ô King, thou ne're fought'st Earthly treasures,
 'Twas Iustice, Piety, Peace, and Heauen's pleasures;
 These were the things, which thou great Monarch fought
 And th' only scopes of thy Cœlestiall thoughts.

An-

(14.)

Another vpon the same.

○ Hee is gone, for whom the Sisters three
 Of grace doe mourne, and chide with destinie:
 ○ he is gone for whom *Apollo* sings
 A fatall Dirge, vnto his weeping strings:
 ○ hee is gone, for whom the Muses crie
 In fable weeds with dolefull melodie.

But although *Iames* bee gone, hee's gone *to seeke*
 That Mansion, where the King of Kings *doth keepe* ;
 Yet all's not gone, for Heauen keeps his Spirit,
 Fame his remembrance, Honour his due Merit.
 Thus being loft, hee's found, and seeking finds
 That happineſſe, which earth-deuoted minds
 Doe neuer ſeeke, nor euer ſhall obtaine,
 Becauſe they ſeeke not heau'n on earth to gaine.

Anagrammata Latina.

IACOBVS REX.

Bis Rex Vaco.

*Q*ui modo regnaui trino Diademate cinctus
 Bis Rex Imperio, bis Diadema gerens :
 Cuius erat quicquid diuiſus ab orbe Brittannus
 Poſſidet, & pulchri quicquid Hybernus habet.
 Nunc ego mundanis curis & mole ſolutus
 Etherea Liber ſpiritus arce vaco.

Aliud

(15.)

Aliud in idem.

*D*ignus eras cunis Scotiæ Diademate, dignus
 Qui gereres tenera Regia ſceptra manu ;
 Dignus eras, quum te ſenior cognouerat ætas,
 Annoſa ut gereres ſceptra Britanna manu.

*Bisq; coronatus, meliori cinēta corona
 Tempora pro meritis, nunc Iacobe, tenes :
 Sic tibi post triplicis, triplicata pericula regni,
 Post hæc Diuinis rebus adesse vacat.*

Aliud Anagramma.

IACOBVS REX.

Ob curas Exi.

*Q**ui triplicis Regni totidem moderatus habenas,
 Bisq; coronatus nostro regnauerat Orbe,
 Cuius erat, quicquid toto circumflua ponto
 Insula diues habet, quicquid quæ a Virgine terræ
 Nomen habet, habuit, vel quicquid Hybernia tota :
 Post varias curas, & multa pericula Regni
 Hac tumultus humo, fœlici conditur vena.
 Exutus, sic exiuit, sic pondere liber
 Terreno, ad manes facilis migravit Elysæ,
 Henriciq; Annæq; suæ, iunctusq; coronæ
 Cœlicolûm, æterna fœlix, dominatur in aula.*

FINIS.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Epistle-dedicatory to LORD CONWAY and SIR FRANCIS POPHAM—see our Introduction on these : l. 9, '*Panegiris*' = transition-form of panegyric : p. 114, l. 17, '*fly'd*' = flew : p. 115, l. 3, '*Syttim*'—mis-spelled with three t's=Shittim, *i.e.* Shittah, a species of acacia—with a tacit reference to the sacred 'chest' or ark : p. 118, l. 8, '*pratique*'—mis-printed '*Pracique*' : p. 117, l. 6, 'forbeare'—mis-printed 'ferbeare' : *ibid.*, l. 15, '*Ignatian Conclaue*' = Jesuits, after their founder Ignatius Loyola : p. 118, l. 1, 'Argilian' = Argyle or Highland : *ibid.*, l. 22, '*Callenture*' = violent fever : *ibid.*, ll. 24-5, '*Beame-lands*' and '*Sycambria's*'—see our Introduction : p. 119, l. 23 onward—see our Introduction on King James's Works as here celebrated : p. 120, l. 18, '*obsequious right*'—right of obsequies : p. 121, l. 19, '*Herick*'—see our Introduction on this : p. 122, l. 18, '*cordiall*' = heart-strings, with play on 'cor', the heart : p. 125, l. 12, '*Ramsfey's belp*'—see our Introduction : p. 126, l. 6 (from bottom) '*Court-Hyrudoes*'—*Ibid.*—G.

III.

THE LEGEND AND DEFENCE OF
SIR JHON OLDCASTELL.

NOTE.

Of 'The legend and defence of y^e Noble Knight and Martyr Sir Jhon Oldcastle,' and Shakespeare's Sir John Falstaff, see our Introduction; wherein I notice other poems in vindication of Oldcastle. The 'Legend,' etc., has never before been printed, though frequently referred to. For a painstaking transcript of James's notes I owe best thanks to Mr. F. Madan, M.A., of Brasenose College, Oxford, who has transmuted into a pleasure what sooth to say might have been regarded as mere copyist's professional task-work. Somehow the late Mr. Corser is uncharacteristically inaccurate in his quotations from the 'Observations,' especially in the Latin and French. In the MS. (small folio) there is (*a*) Title: (*b*) Epistle-dedictory: (*c*) Occleve's 'Legend,' with a few marginal notes, probably his own, and consisting chiefly of citations from St. Augustine, etc., alluded to, or corroborative of, passages in the poem: (*d*) on page 20 (modern method of paging, and really fol. 9b, not 10b) begin 'Observations vppon Hoccleve,' which continue to the end (p. 34, really fol. 15b). The MS. is No. 34 in the James Collection in the Bodleian.—G.

The legend and defence of y^e

Noble knight and Martyr

Sir Jhon Oldcastel

Sett forth

By Richard Iames Bachelour of

divinitie and fellowe of .CC.C.

in Oxford

* *

*

Arifotle

"Οσιν προτιμᾶν τὴν ἀληθείαν



[EPISTLE-DEDICATORY.]

To my Noble friend S^r Henrye Bouchier.



IR HARRIE BOURCHIER, you are descended of Noble Auncestrie, and in the dutie of à good man loue to heare and see faire reputation preferud from slander and oblivion. Wherefore to you I dedicate this edition of Ocleve, where S^r Jhon Oldcastell apeeres to haue binne a man of valour and vertue, and onely lost in his owne times because he would not bowe vnder the foule superstition of papistrise; from whence in so great light of Gosple and learning that there is not yet à more vniversall departure, is to me the greatest scorne of men. But of this more in another place, and in preface, will you please to heare me that which followes. A young Gentle Ladie of your acquaintance, having read y^e works of Shakespeare, made me this question : How Sir Jhon Falstaffe, or Fastolf,¹ as it is written in y^e statute book of Maudlin Colledge in Oxford, where everye daye y^t societie were bound to make memorie of his foule, could be dead in Harrie y^e Fifts

¹ From *Fastolf* to *foule* is added interlineally and in the margin, in James's handwriting.

time, and againe liue in y^e time of Harrie y^e sixt to be banisht for cowardize? Whereto I made anfwere that this was one of those humours and mistakes for which Plato banisht all poets out of his commonwealtth: that Sir Jhon Falstaffe was in those times à Noble valiant fouldier as apeeres by à book in the Heralds office dedicated vnto him by à herald whoe had binne with him if I well remember for y^e space of 25 yeeres in y^e French wars; that he seemes allso to haue binne à man of learning, because in à librarie of Oxford I finde à book of dedicating churches sent from him for à present vnto Bisshop Wainflete and inscribed with his owne hand. That in Shakespeares first shewe of Harrie ye fift, y^e person with which he vndertook to playe a buffone was not Falstaffe, but S^r Jhon Oldcastle, and that offence beinge worthily taken by peronages descended from his title, as peradventure by manie others allso whoe ought to haue him in honourable memorie, the poet was putt to make an ignorant shifte of abusing S^t John Falstaffe or ¹Fastolphe, à man not inferior of vertue though not so famous in pietie as the other, whoe gaue witnesse vnto the truth of our reformation with à constant and resolute martyrdom, vnto which he was pursued by the priefsts, Bishops, Moncks, and Friers of those dayes. Noble Sir, this is all my preface. God keepe your and me, and all Christian people from the bloodie designes of that cruell religion.

Yours in all obseruance

RICH. JAMES.

¹ *Falstaffe* or is erased in the MS.



Ceste feust faicte au temps que le Roy Henri
le cinquiesme que Dieu pardoine feust a Hamp-
ton sur son primer passage vers Harflete.

* *
*

I.



HE ladder of hevene I meine charitee
Comandith vs if our brothir be falle
In to errour, to haue of him pitee
And seeke weyes in our wittes alle
How we maye him ageyn to vertu call.
And in gretter errour ne knowe I noon
Than thow that dronke haast heresies gall
And art fro Chrystes feith twynned and goon.

2.

Allas that thow that were à manly knyght
And shoon ful cleer in famous worthynesse
Standing in the favour of everye wight
Haast lost the style of Christenly prowesse

Among alle hem that stand in the cleereneffe
 Of good byleeue, and no man with the holdith
 Saif curfid caitifs heires of dirkneffe.
 For verray routhe of thee myn herte coldith.

3.

Thow haast maad à faire permutacion
 Fro Crystes lore to feendly doctryne,
 From honour and fro dominacion
 Vnto reproof and meschevous vnyne
 Fro Cristen folk to hethenly covyne
 Fro seuretee vnto vnlikirneffe,
 Fro joye and ese vnto wo and pyne,
 Fro light of trouthe vnto dirk falsneffe.

4.

O Oldcastel allas what eilid thee
 To slippe into the snare of heresie,
 Thurgh which thow foo art to the Trinite
 And to the blessed virgyne Marie,
 And to the innumerable holy compaignie
 Of hevene, and to all holy chirche allas.
 To longe haast thow bathid in that folie,
 Ryfe vp and pource thee of thy trespas.

5.

Seint Austyn seith, whiles à man abydith
 In heresie or scisme, and list nat flee
 Ther fro, his soule fro. God he dividith,
 And may nat saved been in no degree.

Augustinus de fide ad Petrum.
 Firmissime tene et nullatenus
 dubites, quemlibet hæreticum
 etc. qui Ecclesiæ Catholicæ
 non tenet unitatem neq. bap-
 tismus neq. elemosyna quan-
 tumcumq. copiosa, neq. mors
 pro Christi nomine suscepta
 proficere poterit ad salutem.

For what man holdith nat the vnitee
Of holy Chirche, neither his baptee,
Ne his almeffe how large that it be
To helthe him profytt, ne God queeme.

6.

And yet moreover he seith thus also,
Thogh that an heretyk for Crystes name
Shede his blood, and his lyf for Cryst forgo
Shal nat him saue. Allas the harm and fhome!
May nat thy smert thy sturdy herte attame?
Obeie, obeie in the name of JHESU.
Thow art of merit and of honur l'ame,
Conquere hem two, and the arme in vertu.

7.

De Theodosij illustris Imperatoris obedienciali bumillitate respice in bistoria tripartita lib. ix^o vbi narrat. cum apud Theffalonicam civitatem etc.

If thyn hy herte bolnynge in errour
To holy chirche cannot buxum be,
Beholde THEODOSIUS Emperour
How humble and buxum vnto God was he.
No reward took he of his dignitee,
But as a lamb to holy chirche obeide.
In the scripture may men rede and se
How meekly of the Bisshop grace he preide.

8.

Th' offense which that he ageyn God wroghte
Was nat so greet as thyn by many fold,
And yit ful hevy he was and it forthoghte,
Obeyng as that holy Chirche hath wold.

Thow that thy soule to the feends haaft fold,
 Bye it agayne thirogh thyn obedience.
 Thyn hereſie is al to hoor and old.
 Correſt thee at Cryſtes reverence.

9.

And for thy foules helthe do eeke fo,
 Thy pride quenche and thy preſumpcion.
 Wher thow haaft been to Cryſtes feith à fo
 Plante in thyn herte à deep contricion,
 And hennes foorth be Cryſtes champion.
 The welle of mercy renneth al in brede,
 Drynke thereof, ſyn ther is ſwich foyſonn.
 Thyn hertes bottel therof fill I rede.

10.

Thow haaft offended God wondirly fore,
 And nathelees if thow the wilt amende
 Thogh thy gilt wer à thowſand tymes more
 Axe him mercy and he wile it the ſende.
 Thou art vnwys thogh thow the wys pretende.
 And ſo been all of thyn opinioun.
 To God and holy Chirche thow thee bende
 Caſte out thy venym thurgh confeſſioun.

11.

*Scriptum eſt; offendite vos
 ſacerdotibus.*

Thow ſeiſt confeſſion auriculeer
 Ther needith noon, but it is the contrarie
 Thou lookiſt mis, thy fighte is nothing cleere,
 Holy writ therein is thyn aduerſarie.

And Clerkes all fro thy conceit varie,
 That Crystes partie holden and maynteene.
 Leue that conceit, lest that thow miscarie
 Waar of the swerd of God, for it is keene.

12.

Augustin, de Visitatione infirmorum dicit. In muro civitatis supernæ apponendus es lapis vivus, in cuius edificio non auditur securus aut malleus. Hic perferendus est strepitus, hic adiciendus est lapidi malleus, hic conterendum est totum lapidis supervacuum. Strepitus peccatorum tuorum recordatio super quibus perstrepat in aure sacerdotis humillima tua confessio.

Heer in this lyf vnto Gods mercy crie
 And with the axe or hammer of penance
 Smyte on the stoon, flee thyn obstinacie,
 Haue of thy synnes hevy remembrance.
 Rowne in the preestes ere and the grevance
 Of thy soule meekly to him confesse
 And in the wal of hevene is no doutance
 Thow shalt à qwik stoon be for thy goodnesse.

13.

O Oldcastel how hath the feend thee blent?
 Where is thy knyghtly herte? art thow his thrall?
 Thou errest foule eek in the sacrament
 Of the auter. But how in speciall
 For to declare it needith nat at all.
 It knowen is in many à regioun.
 Now syn the feend hath yoven the à fall,
 Qwyte him, let see, ryse vp and slynge him down.

14.

Ryse vp à manly knyght out of y^e flowe
 Of herefie, O lurker as à wrecche
 Where as thow erred haast, correcte it now
 By humbleffe, thow mayst to mercy strecche.

To holy Chirche go and there fecche
The holfum oyle of abfolucion.
If thou of fowles hurt ne fhame recche
Thow leefft hevene and al knyghtly renoun.

15.

Par cas thou to thy felf fhame it arettift
Vnto prelates of holy Chirche obeie.
If it fo be, thy conceit thou miffettift
What man aright can in his herte weye
The trouthe of that? To Jefu Cryft I feye
Principally is that obedience.
God hath ordeyned preeftes to purveye
Salve of penance for mans offence.

16.

Vnto Seint Petir and his fucceffours
And fo forth doun God hath his power lent.
Go to the preeft, correct thyn errours
With herte contrit vnto God ybent.
Dispute no more of the sacrament;
As holy Chirche biddith folwe it.
And hennes forward as by myn affent
Prefume nat fo mochil of thy wit.

17.

I put cas à prelat or à preeft
Him viciously governe in his lyvyng.
Thou oghteft reewe on it whan thou it feeft,
And folwe him nat, but aftir his techinge

Thow oghtest do, and for thyn obeyynge
 Thow shalt be sauf, and if he teche amis,
 To for God shal he yeue à rekenynge
 And that à freite, the greet peril is his.

18.

Fides non habet meritum, etc.

Lete holy Chirche medle of the doctryne
 Of Crystes lawes and of his byleeue.
 And lete all othir folk therto encline
 And of our feith noon argumentes meeue.
 For if we might our feith by reson preeue
 We sholde no meryt of our feith haue.
 But now à dayes à Baillif or à Reeue
 Or man of craft wele in it dote or raue.

19.

Some women eek thogh hir wit be thynne
 Wele argumentes make in holy writ.
 Lewde calates sittith down and spyne
 And kakele of sumwhat elles, for your wit
 Is all to feeble to dispute of it.
 To Clerkes grete apparteneth that aart,
 The knowleche of that God hath fro you shrit.
 Stynte and leue of, for right sclendre is your paart.

20.

Our fadres olde and modres lyved wel,
 And taghte hir children as hem self taght were
 Of holy Chirche and axid nat à del
 Why stant this word heer and why this word there

Why spake God thus and feith thus elles where
Why did he this wyfe and mighte han do thus.
Our fadres medled nothyng of swich gere,
That oghte been à good mirour to vs.

21.

If land to the be falle of heritage
Which that thy Fadir heeld in reffe and pees
With title iust and trewe in al his age
And his Fadir before him brygtlees,
And his and his and so foorth, doutelees
I am ful feur who so woulde it the[e] reve,
Thow woldest the defende and putte in prees
Thy right, thow woldest nat thy thanks leue.

22.

Right so where as our good fadres olde
Possessid were and hadden the seisyne
Peisible of Crystes feithe and no man wolde
Impugne hir right, it sit vs to enclyne
Thereto, let vs no ferther ymagyne
But as that they did occupie our right,
And in our hertes fully determyne
Our title good and keepe it with our might.

23.

Who so hath right and nat wele it deffende
It is no manhode, it is cowardyse,
And as in this cas he shal God offende
So grevoufly, that he shal nat souffyse

The maugree for to bere in no wyfe.
 Fro Cryft that right firft grew, and if that we
 Nat fhuln fufteene it, we ben ful vnwyfe.
 Him felf is feith, right, trouthe, and al bontee.

24.

*Lege Nemo. Nemo clericus
 vel cujlibet alterius condi-
 tionis de fide Christianâ pub-
 lici turbis coadunatis et audi-
 entibus tractare conetur in
 posterum ex hoc tumultus et
 perfidiâ occasionem requirens,
 etc. et ibi expreffatur poena in
 bujusmodi caufis exequendis.*

The Cristen Emperour Justinian
 As it is written who fo list it see
 Made à law deffending everye man
 Of what condicion or what degree
 That he were of nat sholde hardie bee
 For to difpute of the feith openly,
 And therevppon fundry peynes sette he
 That peril sholde efchued be therby.

25.

Bewar Oldcastel and for Crystes sake
 Clymbe no more in holy writ fo hie,
 Rede the ftorie of Lancelot de Lake
 Or Vegece of the aart of Chivalrie.
 The seege of Troye or Thebes the applie
 To thyng that may to th' ordre of knyght longe
 To thy correction now haaft and hie,
 For thow haaft been out of joint al to longe.

[Vegetius.

26.

If the[e] list thyng rede of auctoritee,
 To thefe ftories fit it the to goon,
 To Judicum, Regum and Josue,
 To Judith and to Paralipomenon,

And Machabe, and as fiker as ftoon,
If the list in hem bayte thyn ye,
More autentik things shalt thou finde noon
Ne more pertinent to chivalrie.

27.

Knyghtes so dide in tymes that be past,
Whan they had tendrenesse of hir office.
In Crystes feith they stoden stidefast
And as that the preest hir soules norice
Hem goostly fedde and yaf hem the notice
Of Chrystes lore, with obedience
They took it. But now regneth swich malice
That buxumnesse is put in abstinence.

28.

O Constantyn thou prince of hy nobleye,
O Christen Emperour whos worthinesse
Desdeyned nat to holy Chirche obeye,
But didest al thy peyne and bifynesse
With wel disposid spirit of meeknesse.
The Ministres of God for to honure
How thou wroghtist haast thou so strong witnesse
That lyue it shal whil the world wele endure.

29.

Thow took nat on the hir correccion,
Ne vpon hem thou yaf no jugement.
Swich was to God thy good affection.
Thow seidest, they been Goddes to vs sent,

dmirabili honore quem
antiquus Imperator ex-
t Ecclesie Ministris ita
tur. Deus vos constituit
lotes et potestatem dedit
judicandi et ideo nos à
judicamur, vos autem
potestis ab hominibus
iri.

And that it is nothing convenient,
That à man sholde Goddes juge and deeme.
Thow were à Noble and à worthy Regent,
Wel was byfet on thee thy diadeeme.

30.

Bleffid be God fro whom deryved is
Al grace, our lige Lord which that is now
Our feithfull Cristen Prince and King in this
Folwith thy steppes. O for shame thow
Oldcastel, thou haast longe tyme ynow
Folwed the feend thogh thow no longer do.
Do by my reed, it shal be for thy prow.
Flee fro the fend, folwe tho princes two.

31.

Reward had and confideracioun
Vnto the dignitees of tho perfonas
Thow art of à scars reputacioun
A froward herte haast thow for the nones,
Bowe and correcte thee, come of at ones.
Fowle haast thou lost thy time, many à day.
For thyn vnfeith men maken many mones,
To God retorne and with his feith dwell ay.

32.

Thogh God thee haue souffryd regne à whyle
Be nat to bold, bewar of his vengeance.
He tarieth, for thow sholdist reconfyle
Thee to hym and leue thy mescreaunce.

Holfum to thee now were à variaunce
Fro the feend to our Lord God, and fro
Vice vnto vertu, that were his hy plesauce
And his modres mankyndes mediatrice.

33.

Some of thy fetheres weren plukkid late
And mo shuln be, thow shalt it nat avertere,
Thou art nat wys ageyne God to debate.
The flood of pryde caste out of thyn herte,
Grace is alyue, to God thee converte.
Thow maist been his if thee list obeie.
If thow nat wilt so, forrer shalt thow smerte
Than herte of man may thyneke or tonge feye.

34.

Almighty God thow Lord of al and Syre
Withouten whom is no goodnes wrought,
This knyght of thyn habundant grace enspyre,
Remember how deer that thow haast him boght.
He is thyn handwerk, Lord refuse him noght
Thogh he the haue agilt outrageously.
Thow that for mercy deidest change his thoght,
Benigne Lord enable him to mercy.

35.

Ye that perverted him ye folks dampnable,
Ye heretikes that han him betrayed
That manly was, worthy and honourable,
Or that he had of your venym assayed,

I doubt it nat your wages shal be payed
Sharply, but ye correct your trespass.
In your fals errour shul yee been outrayed
And beene enhabited with Satanas.

36.

Yee with your flie coloured argumentes
Which that contenen nothing but falshode
Han in this knight put so feendly ententes
That he is overcharged with the lode
Which yee han leid on his good old knyghthode
That now à wrecchid knyght men call may.
The lak of feith hath quenched his manhode,
His force ageyn God naght is at affay.

37.

Prince of Preeftes our lige Lord yee calle
In scorn, but it is à style of honour.
Auctoritie of preeft excedith alle
Eerthely powers, thogh it seeme four
To the taast of your detestable errour.
They that in the feith been constant and fad
In Seint Petres wordes han good favour
And fayn been to fulfill that he bad.

38.

All eerthely princes and othir men
Bisshops to obeie commandid he.
Ye han no grownd to hold ther ayen.
Spirituell thynges passe in digniteé

All the thinges temporel that be
As moche as doth the foule body.
In the scriptures serche and ye shul see
That it no lees at al is hardily.

39.

Two lightes God made in the firmament
Of hevene, a more made and à lessé.
The gretter light to the day hath he lent
It for to serve in his cleer brightnesse.
The smaller to the nyght in soothfastnesse
He lente also to helpe it with his light.
Two dignitees they toknen in liknesse
Auctoritee papal and kynkes might.

40.

Looke how moche and how grete diversitee
Betwixt the sonne ther is and the moone,
So moche is à popes auctoritee
Aboue à kynges might, good is to doone
That yee aryfe out of your error soone
That therein walwid han, goon is ful yore.
And but yee do, God I byseeche à boone.
That in the fyr yee feele may the fore.

41.

Yee that nat fette by preeftes power
Cryftes rebels and foos men may yow call
Yee waden in prefumpcion so fer
Your soules to the feend yee foule thrall.

Yee feyn, à preeft on deedly fynne fall
If he fo go to meffe he may not make
Cryftes body, falſly yee erren all
That holden fo, to deepe yee ranfake.

42.

As wel may à preeft that is vicious
That precious body make day by day
As may à preeft that is ful vertuous.
But waar the preeft, his ſoule it hurte may
And ſhal but he cleene be, it is no nay.
Be what he be, the preeft is inſtrument
Of God, thurgh whos wordes truſtith this ay
The preeft makith the bleffid ſacrament.

43.

Yee medle of al thing, yee moot ſhoo the goos,
How knowen yee what lyf à man is ynne.
Your fals conceites renne aboute loos.
If à preeft ſynfull be and fro God twynne
Thurgh penitence he may agein God wynne.
No Wight may cleerly knowen it or geſſe
That any preeft beynge in deedly fynne
For awe of God dar to the meſſe him dreſſe.

44.

Ye feyn alſo ther ſholde be no Pope
But he the beſte preeft were vpon lyue.
O whereto graſpen yee ſo fer and grope
Aftir ſwich thyng, yee mowe it never dryue

To the knowleche, nothing therof fryue.
Meddle nat therwith, let al swich thing passe
For if that yee do shul yee never thryue,
Yee been ther in as lewde as is an asse.

45.

Many men owtward seemeth wondir good,
And inward is he wondir fer ther fro.
No man be juge of that but he be wood,
To God longith that knowleeche and no mo.
Thogh he be right synfull, sooth is also
The hy power that is to him committid
As large as Petres is, it is right so,
Among feithful folk this is admittid.

46.

What is the lawe the werse of nature
If that a juge vse it nat aright?
No thyng God woot, avyse him that the cure
Ther of hath take, looke he do but right.
Waar that he nat stonde in his owne light.
Good is that he his soule keepe and faue.
Your fals conceites puttith to the flight
I rede, and Crystes mercy axe and haue.

47.

Yee that pretenden folwers for to be
Of Crystes disciples, nat lyue sholde
Aftir the fleshly lustes as doon yee
That rekken nat whos wyf yee take and holde,

Swich lyf the disciples nat lyue wolde
For curfid is the synne of advoutrie.
But yee ther in so hardy been and bolde
That yee no synne it holden, ne folie.

48.

If yee so holy been as ye witnesse
Of your self, thanne in Crystes feith abyde.
The disciples of Chryst had hardynesse
For to apeere, they nat wolde hem hyde
For fere of deeth but in his cause dyde.
They fledden nat to halkes ne to hernes
As yee doon that holden the feendes fyde
Which arn of dirknesse the lanternes.

49.

Ne nevere they in forcible maneere
With wepnes roos to flee folk and affaill
As ye diden late in this contree heere
Ageyn the king stryf to rere and battaill.
Blessid be God of your purpos yee faill
And faill shuln, ye shuln nat fourth therwith.
Yee broken meynnee, ye wrecchid raifcaill
Been all to weyk, ye han therto no pith.

50.

Also yee holden ageyn pilgrimages
Which arne ful goode if that folk wel hem vse,
And eek ageyne the makyng of ymages.
What, al is nat worth that ye clappe and muse,

How can ye by reson your self excuse
That ye nat erren, whan yee folk excite
To vice and stir hem vertu to refuse?
Waar Goddes strook, it peiseth nat à lyte.

51. ¹[60].

For to visite Seintes is vertu.
If that it doon be for devocioun,
And elles good is be therof eschu.
Meede wirkith in good entencioun,
Be cleene of lyf and be in orisoun,
Of synne talke nat in thy viage.
Let vertu gyde thee froo toun to toun,
And so to man profiteth pilgrimage.

52 [61].

And to holde ageyn ymages makynge
Be they maad in entaill or in peynture
Is greet errour, for they yeven stiryng
Of thoghtes goode, and causen men honure
The Seint astir whom maad is that figure,
And nat worshippe it how gay it be wroght.
For this knowith wel euery creature
That reson hath, that à Seint it is noght.

53 [62].

Right as à spectacle helpith feeble fighte
Whan à man on the book redith or writ

¹ So the MS. is mis-numbered 60, and similarly in succeeding stanzas—placed within brackets to show this. Query—any stanzas between omitted by James?

And causith him to see bet than he mighte.
In which spectacle his fighte nat abit
But gooth thurgh and on the book restith it.
The fame may men of ymages feye,
Thogh the ymage nat the feint be, yit
The fighte vs myngith to the Seint to preye.

54 [63].

Ageyn possessions yee holden eek
Of holy Chirche, and that is eek errour,
Your inward yt is ful of smoke and reek.
While heer on eerthe was our Saveour
Whom Angels diden service and honor
Purfes had he, why? for his Chirche sholde
So haue eek aftir as feith myn auctor.
Yee goon mis, al is wrong that yee holde.

55 [64].

Justinian Emperour had fwich cheertee
To holy Chirche as that feith the scripture,
That of goodes how large or greet plentee
If had of yifte of any creature.
Him thoughte it youe in the beste mesure
That might been, his herte it loued so.
Yee never yat hem good peradventure,
What title han yee aght for to take hem fro.

56 [65].

And if yee had aght youe them or this time
Standing in y^e feith as yee oghten stonde

Sholden they now for your change and your cryme
Dispoillid been of that they haue in honde.
Nay that no skile is yee shal vnderftonde.
They night and day labourers in prayeere
For [t]hem that so yaf flyntith and nat fonde
To do so, for first boght wele it be deere.

57 [66].

Presumpcion of wit and ydilnesse
And covetyse of good, tho vices three
Been cause of al your ydil bysynesse.
Yee seyn eek goodes commune oghten be,
That ment is in tyme of necessitee
But nat by violence or by maistrie
My good to take of me or I of thee
For that is verray wrong and robberie.

58 [67].

If that à man the foothe telle shal
How that your hertes in this case beene fet,
For to ryfle is your entente final.
Yee han be bify longe aboute à net
And fayn wolde han it in the watir wet
The fish to take which yee han purposid.
But God and our Lord lige hath yow let.
It nis ne shal been as yee han supposid.

59 [68].

Men seyn ye purpose hastily apeere
The worme for to sleen in the pefecod

Come on whan yow lifte, ye fhul rewe it deere,
The feend is your cheef and our heed is God.
Thogh we had in our handes but à clod
Of eerthe at your heedes to flinge or caste
Were wepne ynow or à smal twig or rod,
The feith of Christe stikith in vs so faste.

60 [69].

We dreden nat wee han greet advantage
Whethir we lyue or elles slayne be we
In Crystes feith, for vp to hevenes stage
If we so die our foules lift fhul be.
And on that othir parte yee feendes yee
In the dirk halke of hell fhul descende.
And yit with vs abit this charitee,
Our desire is that yee yow wolde amende.

61 [70].

Yee holden many an othir error mo
Than may be writen in à littil spåce,
But lak of leisir me commandith ho.
Almighty God byseeche I of his grace
Enable yow to seene his bleffid face
Which that in o[ne] God and perfonen three.
Remember yow heuene is à miry place
And helle is ful of sharp aduerfitee.

62 [71].

Yit Oldcastel for him that his blood shadde
Vp on the crois, to his feith turne agayn,

Forgete nat the loue he to vs hadde
 That blisful Lord, that for all vs was slain,
 From hennes forward trowble nat thy brayn
 As thow haast doon agēyn the feith full fore.
 Chryfte of thy soule glad be wolde and fayne,
 Retorne knyghtly now vnto his lore.

63 [72].

Repente the and with him make accord,
 Conquere meryt and honour, let see,
 Looke how our Cristen Prince our Lige Lord
 With many à Lord and knyght beyond the see
 Laboure in armes and thow hydest thee
 And darst nat come and shewe thy visage.
 O fy for shame, how can à knygt be
 Out of thonur of this rial viage.

64 [73].

Sum time was no knyghtly turne ~~no~~ where
 Ne no manhode shewid in no wyse
 But Oldcastel wolde his thankes be there.
 How hath the curfid fiend changed thy gyse?
 Flee from hym and al his workes dispyse.
 And that ydoon vnto our Cristen Kyng
 The[e] hie as safte as that thow canst dyvyse
 And humble eek thee to him for any thing.

*

Cest tout

 * *
 *



OBSERVATIONS VPPON HOCCLEVE.

P. 20.

* *
*

2.



manly knyghte.'—Although this Noble knyghtes adversaries in poincte of hereſie ſpare not to ſpeake all the venime of their hearts againſt him, as making him even Antechriſte himſelf, and dēvize in his name the Apocalypſticall number of the beaſte, yet thoſe whoe wroughte at the time could not be ſo ſhameleſſe as to denie him the honour of all other Chriſtian and gentle behaviour. Even in the ſpirit of the Apoſtles and Apoſtolicall times, being fully reſolvd¹ in heart that² the whole life and doctrine of y^e Roman ſuperſtition || was Antichriſtian, in teſtimonie P. 21. of evangeliſticall truth he was patient and conſtant in his martyrdom, notwithstanding that the Duke of Bedford

¹ The words *in heart* are eraſed.

² Before the word *the* a ſhort word is eraſed : († *even.*)

P. 21. and others much tempted him to à submiſſion. As a brief extract from the cronicle of Thomas Elmham concerning Harrie y^e fifts time hath it. Tractus, ſuſpenſus, ſuccenſus, voce gemit nil.

* '*ſaiſ curſid caitifs.*'—As Chriſte and his Apoſtles had the ſclaunder of the Scribes and phariſies, and in pretenſe of new doctrine were cruelly perſecuted both by Jewes and Gentiles, ſo fared it with y^e Wickleviſts and Waldenſes, whoe had the boldeneſſe to reſtore evangelicall pietie. According to that they liud, they wrought, they ſufferd, and even from their owne adverſaries haue in thoſe reſpects wonne many elogies. Howſoever their bloodie perſecution for à long time ceaſed not; the papall clergie everie where inciting princes to warre and maſſacre, whereof ould Gower ſpeakes thus.

Paciſicam Petri vaginam mucro reſumens

Horruit ad Chriſti verba cruoris iter.

Nunc tamen affiduo gladium de ſanguine tinctum

Vibrat avaritia lege tepente ſacra.

5. '*Of holy chirche.*'—Bothe aunciently and in our ages there be great debates and quarrells aboute y^e church. But aſſuredly they are moſte of them vaine and factious. The Waldenſes and the Wickleviſt and all other names of our reformation departed not from the Church of Chriſte, whome they rather intended to followe neerely according to that doctrine which he hath preſcribed vnto it in holie ſcripture, where himſelf and not the pope of Rome is head and commaunder. To the Churches where-in we live we owe indeede à great civill obedience, But if

yeither they or others pretending Chrifte shall fowly abuse themselves in manners and doctrine, from them wee apeale vnto the fountaines and mountaines of scripture, to vse the words of Cyprian and sainct Chrysostome. and in retiring hether with integritie of heart though with the residue of our owne lives and fortunes we departe not from the church, but from Rome and Babylon, from whose crueltie good Lord deliver vs.

7. '*Beholde Theodosius.*'—The suddaine bloodie execution of Theodosius is in storie fully sett downe, and for my parte the zeale of Sainct Ambrose is no lesse worthy an episcopall imitation. But for the papall Bisshops vsurpation vppon Christian princes, tis à wonder that Christians haue so long sufferd it. Cleere discoueries of this pointe are made by infinite manie writers, and of this I saye no more; But that howsoever prelats may vse their office civilly, yet Julius the '2.' had no authoritie from Chrifte vppon ¹his displeasure to give awaye the kingdome of Navarre from à right Christian prince vnto Ferdinand of Arragon, whoe in Nebrissenfis his owne historians panegyrick could haue no other excuse in taking then that Navarre did before denormare Hispaniam.

8. '*Th' offence.*'—I haue heard à storie of à Spanish confessor that for murder and such like peccadillos in his penitent could finde somme excuse and satisfaction, but for eating an egg on Friday he grew into an infinite furie. Such may be the comparifon betwixt the buifnesse of the

¹ *His* seems to be erased.

- P. 21. Emperour Theodosius and the most religious martyr S^r Jhon Oldcastell. The one in à furie, caused at Theſſalonica, peſſmel the juſt with the ¶ vnjuſt, withoute all triall of lawe, ſeven thouſand old and younge, to be mowed downe together,—for ſo hiſtorians expreſſe the maſſacre,—and ſo beſmeared with blood feares not to comme to church.
- P. 22. S^r Jhon Oldcaſtell à man otherwiſe vnblemiſht, ſayes his belief in Engliſh, liues according vnto the ten commaundements, is diligent to reade and ſearch the ſcriptures, and being by them informed will no longer alienate himſelf from the ſinceritie of Chriſtes goſple, and therefore the vnmanly prieſts and Monks with varietie of cruell torment put him tō death: and certainly as Theodoſius is no example for the Noble knight in this caſe, ſo Sainct Ambroſes behavioure is no authoritie for popes or prelates to triumphe over their liege princes. what he ¹ did, he did ² to the good liking of the Emperour, otherwiſe never diſpoſed to doe him or his officers any ſuch like affronte. And the popes will tread vppon the necks of princes perforce, make them comme bare foote vppon ice, and doe à thouſand other abject ſubmiſſions, ſo long as they wilbe ſo fooliſh as to receive crownes of peccocks tailes from his abuſion: The places from whence I gather the behavioure of Sainct Ambroſe with his prince in y^e buiſneſſe of Theſſalonica are · firſt ex ep. 28. lib. 5. Hunc ego impetum, ſaith he, malui cogitationibus tuis ſecretò committere, quàm meis factis publicè fortaiſſis movere. Itaq; malui officio meo

¹ In the MS. *bid.*

² In the MS. *to* is infered later.

aliquid deesse quam humilitati, et requiri in me ab alijs P. 22.
 sacerdotis auctoritatem, quàm à te desiderari in me aman-
 tissime honorificentiam, vt represso impetu integra esset
 consilij eligendi facultas. Ioine to this another place ex
 oratione de basilicis tradendis adversus Auxentium lib. 5.
 ep. Adversus arma, milites, Gotthos quoq, lacrimæ meæ
 arma sunt. Talia ¹ n. munimenta sunt sacerdotis. Aliter nec
 debeo nec possum resistere. Fugere autem et relinquere
 ecclesiam non soleo. Si fecerit ille quod solet Regiæ esse
 potestatis, ego subire paratus quod sacerdotis esse consuevit.

II. '*Ther needith noon.*'—Cleerely there needes none,
 none of force and necessitie, yet if any will confesse, he
 may. But I belieue that all the leude poemes that haue
 bin written, all the pictures as they call them of Aretine,
 are not according to Celsus his prescription so powerful an
 incitement of Venerie as the questions and scruples of
 confession. see pupilla oculi, Toftatus in divers places, the
 rabble of ould and new penitenciaries ²* and to dismishe this

¹ Scil. *enim*, as elsewhere.

² In the margin here is written :—* Erasmus according to the
 time hath of purpos written à moderate treatise of confession, yet he
 cannot denie this abusion. his wordes are. Sacerdotes homines sunt,
 sæpe juvenes, nonnunquam et mali, aut certe imbecilles. Horum
 animus corrumpitur audiendis aliorum prodigiis admissis, ac sæpe
 propelluntur ad eadem patranda quæ ab alijs patrata didicerunt—
 Audivi Theologum quendam non abhorrentem à mulierculis impu-
 dicis, narrantem se audisse quendam sacris virginibus præfectum, qui
 confiteretur sese stuprasse ducentas virgines. Ex hoc adeo sibi blan-
 diebatur is qui hoc referebat, vt nunquam cogitaturus videretur de
 meditandâ castitate. So Erasmus. (This note is in Rich. James's
 handwriting.)

- P. 22. note, with my reverend Vncle doctōr Thomas James in his introduction to divinitie, Confession better confiderd, is à weapon to amaze and amate the conscience, to picke the purse, to make the confessor à knave, wiues whores, and husbands cuckolds, à stratageme of state, to worke treason and rebellion, to tie the laitie to the clergie, the clergie to the pope, and so to make him what he pretends, Rex Regum et Dominus dominantium.

12. '*Augustin. de visitat.*—Of this supposititious Austin tis the censure of learned Erasmus. sermo locutuleij nec docti nec disert. Quid habuerunt vel frontis vel mentis, qui talia scripta nobis obtruserunt nomine Augustini?

- P. 23. Although in the auncient Fathers there be || also many sayings and sentences which must be corrected by the rule of scripture, yet I conceive it would be à well deserving industrie for somme able man to gather à bodie of divinitie from their authentique workes, and again to paralell the same with collections out of such treatises as are faind vnder their names by illiterate impostors. So we shoudl see what the Fathers withoute authoritie of scripture haue warranted from Juish and Gentile tradition, and how vppon this succeeding papistrie hath crept in and made an infinite addition of Imposture.

16. '*Vnto Seint petir.*—Tis true God is y^e God of ordre, and for the peaceable government of people and states, severall sortes of men must be trusted with severall authorities yet not so that they remaine ἀντιτεθειμένοι, that epithite belongs to God onely. The priests must haue the direction of vs in religion, and easly for private faction

or ambition or other humour we must not refuse their obedience. But if eminently without and beyond all commission of reason and scripture they shalbe presumptuous to stretch authoritie rather to the destruction then edifyinge of the Church, we maye and must saye in despite of the popes canons and contrivements, domine papa cur ita facis? and if he or other priest or prelat in the tyrannie of his office will goe farther yether to sentence of death or excommunication, wee see that in all ages manie are contented to ruine the residue rather then wrong their owne cleere conscience, and from the hard necessitie of this life apeale to heaven. So did in one case against the pope our well reputed Bishop of Lincolne Robert Groffeteste, of whome in storie tis thus reported. *Obiit etiam sanctus Robertus Lincolniensis episcopus dictus grossum caput. 8. Idus Octobris. Hic itaque in cunctis liberalibus artibus excellenter instructus, in logicâ præcipuè et astrologiâ florens plurima commentatus est. Ad Innocentium quoq; papam misit epistolam inactivam satis et tonantem pro eo quod ecclesias Angliæ indebitis exactionibus vexare videretur. Hâc de causâ Robertus ad curiam vocatus est, et cum molestaretur appellavit constanter à curiâ Innocentii ad tribunal Christi. Vnde contigit quòd Roberto in Anglia obeunte, audita est vox in curia papæ. Veni miser ad iudicium. Repertus est in craftino papa exanimis, quasi cuspide baculi in latere percussus.*¹*

18. '*Lete holy Chirche.*'—In Gods name lett it still

¹ In the margin here is written, in James's handwriting:—* But y^e

P. 23. be the dutye of priests and prelates to direct the people, but lett them knowe that they direct men and nott beastes, men that haue reasonable soules and vnderstandings, and whoe haue on them à greater necessitie of obeijng God then men. Tis true, for à long time Fathers and children, and their childrens children continued in the blinde obedience of papistrie, where the blinde did leade the blinde. But when Gods pleasure was to enlighten the world with translations of scripture, with somme few excellent restorers of arte and language, the people quickly saw the gosple and embraced it, and were it not for extreme tyrannie of Antechrist, I cannot feare, but that all nations and people of the Christian world would quickly vnite themselves vnto the protestant doctrine and reformation of which S^r Ihon Oldcastell and many other millions of men, woemen, children, haue long since given testimonie with losse of their lives, their fortunes, and any thing els which in respect of this world might be deere vnto them.

P. 24. || 25. '*Lancelot de Lake*.'—For the space of five hundred yeeres as La-Noue observes in his politique discourse, with such like books people entertaine their leasure; The daunger and mischief of them he hath also there well remembered, to which I maye adde, that certainly they were of sett pollicie invented by the jngeniars of

Peter of Rome is of long time y^e pope onely, of whome y^e MS. legend in S^r Rob. Cottons librarie sayes thus.

For holi cherche ne scholde nout in no stede stonde to dome
Ne anfuere king ne prins bote y^e pope of Rome.

papistrie to keepe people from à desire of reading and perusing holie scripture, and other books of Greeke and Latin instruction, where they haue since learned that the whole frame of the later ignoble Roman superstition is meere imposture, and so their Lancelots and Amadis and knights of the funne and other no lesse fabulous legends haue had their time, and are now allmost everie where going into oblivion.¹*

28. '*O Constantyn.*'—If Constantine did exalte his prelates about measure, later stories say frequently of him, that he sent poison into the church. He indeede calld à counsell where ²the Arrianisme was condemnd, yet had Arrian bishops so great favour with him in the Courte, as that partie was still vpheld. amongst those was Eusebius Cesariensis whoe in à book of his against Marcellus disdaignes much that himself should be so handled whome Constantine held worthy to be Bishop of the whole Oecumenicall world. Marcellus writt against Asterius, Eusebius against Marcellus, and in à manuscript of that writing in y^e Vniuersitie librarie somme Greeke reader could not forbear

¹ In the margin here is written, in James's handwriting :—* But as Occeleve heere so allso another champion of y^e time reviles our religious knight for reading scripture, after this manner.

Hit is vnkindely for à Knight y^t shulde a kings castel kepe
To bable of y^e bible day and night in resting tyme when he should slepe

And carefully away to creepe for all y^e chief of chivalrie
Wel aught hym to waile and wepe, y^t such lust hath in Lollardie.

² So the MS.

- P. 24. to give this marginall note, *καμειλίων πάντων τὴν δυσωδίαν ἐρεύξω*. Wherefore whatsoever Constantine did which is the subject of a larger discourse, Petrarch wisheth him back againe to take away from that ill deserving church all his donatives. Church and church men must for state and honour of pietie haue wherewith liberally to sustaine themselves, but as king Alfred in his translation of Boethius hath it, in a well framed building of government, all the glorie and wealth and power must not be layd vppon one pillar, lest that presse vppon the other and force a ruine of all. What the popes did in the empire with their excessive dotation from Constantine or Charledemaigne or Mathilda, or their owne proling rapine in the sufferance of barbarous ignorant princes and people, Lumbards, Gothes, and Vandals, is everie where sett downe in historie. But what effect his prelates greatnesse had in England I will leave the reader to consider from one relation of Mathiew Paris in a historie of the Abbots lives of Saint Albanes written with Walsinghams owne hand. The relation is thus. *Eo tempore cum Willielmus conquestor Angliæ, aliàs dictus Nothus, dux Normanniæ vnico belli congressu Anglos ita vicisset, vt in conspectu suo tota terra sileret quasi mirans fatum, in quodam conventu vbi cuncti prælati cum nobilioribus regni convenerant, omnes ita convenit. Miror ait, quòd huius regni militia siue communitas quæ nullius iugum ferre confueverunt sine frequenti recalcitatione me fufceperint et admiserint atq; toleraverint libenter vt dominum, et velut infortunio vnus horæ fracti, vt imbelles meo se dominio pacificè submiserunt. Quoties regni præsentis*

militia Danis Piētis et Scotis rebellaverit, et semper libertatem cum victoriā reportaverit libri vestri manifestè declarant. Ad hoc cū starent stupefacti milites et Anglorum Nobiles, et tanquam perculsi verecundiā non haberent responsum congruum tantæ Regis insolentiæ, Abbas monasterii sancti Albani cupiens sibi nomen adquirere, et ab Anglis tergere nævum igna||viæ, simul et gratias reportare, pro omnibus ita respondit. Rex inquit Illustrissime. Quòd Anglos de facili ita vicisti, et regnum pacificè possedisti, religiosi regni tui debes gratiam et favorem. Nempe prædecessores tui gloriosi Reges Angliæ magnam partem Insulæ religiosorum domibus, partim acti devotione, partim coacti miraculis contulerunt; quæ si permansisset in manibus dominorum temporalium, forsitan quilibet ex parte sua contra te resistentiam paravisset. Sed quia religiosi noluerunt sicut nec debuerunt adversum te rebellionem facere, cui certis de causis putabant regni jura competere, vicisti faciliùs, intrasti liberiùs, et ad præsens usq; regnum quietiùs possedisti. Rex his auditis, ex Abatis ore verbum rapiens ita respondit. Si inquit possessiones vobis datæ et ereptæ militibus sunt in causâ quare Angli requiverunt mihi resistere, patet quòd in futurum Rex Daciæ vel quilibet alius mihi bellum inferre poterit, et non erit qui me defendat vel regnum meum, Et ideo de ore tuo te judico, et a te inprimis incipio, repetens possessiones quibus nimis habundas, quibus exhiberi possint milites ad defensionem regni præsentis. Et hâc occasione dicitur abstulisse de domo sancti Albani totum penè dominium quod habuit à Barneto vsq; Londonias ad locum vulgariter vocatum Londonestone. This

P. 24.

P. 25 (27).

P. 25 (27). mightie dotation of the church was ever à grievance of the English, so that in parliamente they did make many remonstrances of it, and thence it is that in verie manie books printed and written I often finde this like calculation. funt en Engleterre. XLV. M. eglises parochiales. et viles. LIJ. M. Fees des chevalers. LX. M. cc. xv. de queux funt en religioun. XXVIII. M. etc. Theis and other things putt together, it would not be any hard matter to prooue, that all the chainges and miserable casualties of this land hath comme both to prince and people from their dowrie; nay thence it is that in ould writings of the monks we reade England often termd, dos Mariæ and ·B· Petri patrimonium speciale. and in Wicklefe whose doctrine and advise made à wise prince Edward the third provide against the mischief, the stomackfull moncks and Friers threaten, that if this or that were not mended they would be gonne and returne with bright heads: King Harrie the fift also had this buisnesse in his thoughts, had he not binne diverted in such manner as stories tell, and amongst them one of his owne time, thus. Also then this Noble prince let do calle all the Abbottis and priours of seint Benettis ordre in England, and had theym in the chapter house of Westminster for the reformacioun of the ordre, wherein he had communication also with Bysshoppis and men of the spiritualte, in soo ferre forth, that they doubted fore he would haue had the temporalties out of their handes. Wherefore by th' avys and labour and procuring of the spiritualtie was encoraged the kyng to chalenge Normandy and his right in Fraunce to th' entente to gette him

awarke there that he shuld natt seeke occasiouns to entre P. 25 (27).
 into such maters. And all hys lyve aftir he labou||red in P. 26 (28).
 the werris in conquering greate parte of the royesme of
 Fraunce. And for this the Monks and prelates instigation
 of princes to warre, bothe Gower and this Hoccleve have
 oterwhere made sharpe invectives against them. The
 one sayes that they sent the Barouns and lustie bacheliere
 into Prus, Rodes, Tartarie, to travaile for worship and
 their Ladies love, and to slaye the Sarafins, whilest them-
 selvs heere wallowed in all vncleane securitie. parte of the
 verses are theis.

What schuld I wyne over the see
 If I my Ladie left at home.
 But passe they the salt fume
 To whom Crist bad they schulden preche
 To all the world and his feith teche.
 But now they rukken in her nest
 And resten as hem liketh best
 In all the swetenesse of delices
 Thus they defenden vs the vices
 And sitte hemselfen all amydde.
 To slen and frighte they vs bidde
 Hem, whome they schuld as the book feith
 Converten vnto Christes feith.

And thus much may serve in consideration of Constantine
 or Justinians over pampering or ¹mignionning the Church.
 A moderation in all things is best.

37. '*Prince of Preestes*.'—I will not heere be spar-
 ing to advertise the reader concerning this principalitie,
 wherefore first I transcribe vnto him parte of Thomas

¹ Perhaps *mignionning*.

P. 26 (28). Waldens preface in his second tome to Harrie y^e fift where he flatters his crueltie after this manner. Regalibus jussis vestris obtemperans; Inclite domine Angliæ Rex Henrice, Christi gratiâ triumphator invicte, doctrinalis antiquitatum ecclesiæ Jesu Christi contra Witclevistas nostrates hæreticos volumen ingredior jam secundum: opus mihi arduum et ingens, sed vtinam tuæ Christianissimæ charitati, quantum optatum, tam competens, tam acceptabile, quam erit acceptum. Non latet hunc terrarum orbem quo stomacho istorum novellorum hæreticorum detestaris infamias. Prodit hoc te tacente ignis jugis supplicij: qui te, vel magis in te Xpo jubente in synagoga eorum frequenter exarsit; flamma combussit peccatores. Prodit hoc affistrix tua sapientia, quam regni pontificibus obtulisti, vt cum eis laboraret semper, arderet semper scire, quid eis acceptum esset coram deo omni tempore. At quis fide sedulus non gauderet eximiè, cum tantus princeps non diu post primæ vnctionis, et factus Regii sacramentum gauderet se in causâ Christi et ecclesiæ primum erexisse vexillum, et super hoc devotissimè deo caneret, Benedictus dominus meus, qui docet manus meas ad prælium, et digitos meos ad bellum? Nec in hoc gaudens, quod erratici spiritus, quibus inflantur hæretici subijcerentur ei: sed quia speravit tali auspicante principio nomen suum in cælis esse conscriptum: speravit se ex hoc hæredem plusquam Ducis Guillelmi, ducis Moyfi, qui libans deo primitias probitatis, vt Israelem erueret jugulavit Ægyptium, successorem etiam fidelem instituens Gedeonis, nocte destruxit aram Baal, lucumq; succidit, et domorum latibula, in quibus Lollardi sua conventicula celebrabant,

docentes doctrinas Balam, et offerentes contrà || Christum P. 27 (29).
 hæretica sacramenta. Imitabatur ex animo Ezekiam in
 regno, qui plus alijs Regibus in exordijs regni docuit popu-
 lum audacter frangere simulachra opinionum et hæresum,
 quas furor Witclevisticæ pravitatis in regno consculpsit:
 succidere lucos, altaria demoliri, quibus decepti vulgares,
 aut doctores eorum decumbebant in clero: et ne liberè
 docerent in ecclesijs, excelsas eis cathedras publicâ sanctione
 ecclesiæ fecerat interdici. Hæc prima bella tibi præstituis,
 his galeis caput dedicas recenter coronatum. His ducibus,
 his Regibus tibi plùs placet fide quàm Edwardis et ¹Henrici
 illustribus alioquin Regibus carne succedere. At verò hoc
 ipso invitas me pauperculum servum tuum, vt post Eliam
 patrem meum simili animositate decurrám, quatenus invo-
 catione Jesu Christi in hoc torrente scripturæ paternæ
 octingentos pseudopphetas gladio perimam verbi dei, vel
 certè magis, vt tu ipse perimas hostes Christi, qui omniquaq;
 cupis eos esse devictos. See heere what it is in Poperie to
 be à Prince of Priestes. Tis to murder, to massacre, to
 burne vp his owne innocent people for their sakes whoe
 hate to be reformd. Those whoe by their owne counsells,
 by their owne lawes no not in case of treason, should sol-
 licite the blood and death of men, but rather pardon and
 mercie for all offenders, theis incarnate divells of men, for-
 getting both their owne law and the milder precepts of
 Christes gosple, crie out nothing but blood and fire and
 death and torment vppon their brethren, whoe say all the

¹ So the MS., for *Henricis*?

P. 27 (29). articles of their creede, doe the ten commaundements vnto the best of their power, and whoe never out of will¹ and doctrine though sommetimes from extremitie, haue dared lift vp their hands against full hard princes, when their blood-swilling aduersaries haue antiquated Christes lawe for their owne inventions, by canon and rubrick dispose of crownes and kingdomes according to their owne humour, and yet give vnto Princes for all their lowe abjectnesse the onely title of Hangmen, as we may see in Sarisberienfis his policraticon. lib. 4. cap. 3. Hunc ergo gladium faith he de manu ecclesiæ accipit princeps, cum ipsa tamen gladium sanguinis omnino non habeat. Habet tamen et istum, sed eo utitur per principis manum, cui coercendorum corporum contulit potestatem, spiritualium sibi in pontificibus autoritate reservatâ. Est ergo princeps sacerdotij quidem minister, et qui sacrorum officiorum illam partem exercet quæ sacerdotij manibus videtur indigna. Sacrarum namq, legum omne officium religiosum et pium est, illud tamen inferius, quod in pœnis criminum exercetur, et quandam carnificii repræsentare videtur imaginem.² † O princes be wise, be not butchers of men, be not onely princes of priests, but gentle tutelar Angells of all your subjects. Charledemaigne was à prince of priests, and although he had witt to reigne them

¹ "Though" in the MS. : *and* seems to be written on the top of "though".

² In the margin here is written:— † Henrie y^e fift was putt vppon y^e warres of France mainly vppon y^e instigation of y^e papall clergie, becauſe he should not staye at home to correct their infinite abominations; to humour them, he drawes à bloodie sward alſo vppon his owne innocent people, and when he hath donne all, as we maye reade

for his owne time, vppon his posteritie they haue triumphd through the superexaltation which he gaue them. Wherefore in my vnderstanding Cardan gives princes good counselle in his . 3 . book of wisdome, where he sayes. Caudum tamen est, ne vel superfluum sit sumptus, vel sacerdotibus summa autoritas tribuatur: Cum .n. plures optimi sint, periculosum tamen est, salutem publicam illis committere ob religionis apud populum auctoritatem, idq, eventu satis manifestum est. Æthiopibus ambitione sacerdotum mos invaluerat, vt cum illi pronunciaffent, expedire populo Regem è vitâ excedere ob gentis salutem, cogerentur Reges vitam finire, quod ni sponte fecissent, tanquam à deo nunciatum quod sacerdotes mentiebantur, populus turpiter eos occidebat: mosq, hic perseveravit usq, ad Erganem Regem, qui illorum cognito dolo, omnes sacerdotes delevit, vt ab hoc commento tutus esset. Nonne Danielis historia refert Babiloniæ Regem à sacerdotibus turpiter esse delusum? quos omnes ille ob hoc interfecerit. Igitur præscribenda illis licentia. So Cardan, and I believe there be few men whoe vnderstand Latin that cannot out of their owne reading presently parallell the Papisticall priesthoods of insolencie with any highe yeither of Æthiopian Ægyptian or Babilonian imposture.

P. 27 (29).

P. 28 (30).

in Cardan de varietate rerū for an amends they give out y^t Saint Fiacre had made all his bowells rott in him, for spoiling one of his churches. But verilye I believe if y^e matter be well vnderstood, their poison hath made away not onely him but y^e greatest number of our English princes, of which more lardgely in another place.

[The above is in James's handwriting.]

P. 28 (30).

39. '*Two lightes*.'—This is à fonde argument taken out of the Papall canon law. Tis true there are two offices in goverment, one temporall and another spirituall. But are not princes and Magistrates temporall as well to confider what belongs to their spiritualite as the priests whoe must haue all in what ever they doe heere, bothe scripture and reason for their guide. I am sure the divine Plato seing in his time the infinite impossures of priests makes the earnest consideration of such things necessarie for everie civill man. And I will like the Spaniard Puente in his great book of the two monarchies, whoe although he allows the similitude of the sunne and moone, yet takes care that the moone of Spaine should have greater domination then the sunne of Roome; and Campanella in his directions for the Spanish monarchie is so fearfull of y^e Roman suns hinderance as if it were possible he would haue had them forge à new religion. O the presumption of phantastically Atheisticall statists. Let theirfore scripture and plaine reason keepe vs in à moderation ever of true pietie.¹*

¹ In the margin here is written in James's handwriting: —* The counterfett sonne of y^e spiritualtie hath in all ages so distemperd the state of goverment as in Ireland manie princes anciently did allso take vppon themselves episcopall consecration, and it was sometimes in the designe of Maximilian to vnite the papacie vnto y^e empire ||. [see pages 176/7, note ²] naye we may as in à glasse ² see the excellent sober condicion of y^e Waldenses in y^e reformation of Geneva which hath followed them neerely. and of y^e so Mounseur Bodin in

² In the MS. *see* is inserted later.

47. 'Whos wyf'.¹ Vppon the primitive Christians as we reade in Tertullian manie fals reproches were cast, so fard it with the Waldenses and the Wicklevists, but the truth was so farre otherwife, as no sorte of people since y^e creation ever liud more correct of manners, in so much that when one hath made à catholouge of the former Waldensians heresies and prodigious opinions, he concludes that he never saw any one that maintaind any such thing, or that in any inquisition was so convicted.² But for the papal behaviour in this point, we reade in Marquardus Sufanius the 9th page of his book de cælibatu sacerdotum non abrogando ad pium 4. that although priests marriage be à diminution of pietie, and à reproche to the Church,

P. 28 (30).

his method of hystorie. sed illud apud Genevates laudabile, si quid vspiam gentium, quodq; rempublicam effecit, si non opibus et imperij magnitudine, certè virtutibus ac pietate florentem; illa ³ s^t pontificum censura, quâ nihil majus ac divinius cogitari potuit ad coercendas hominum cupiditates et ea vitia quæ legibus humanis ac judicijs emendari nullo modo possunt. Hæc autem coercio ad Xpi normam dirigitur, latenter primùm et amicè, deinde paulo acerbiùs; tùm nisi pareas, sequitur interdictio sacrorum gravis et efficax; interdictionem animadversio magistratuum. Ridiculum est n. ait Seneca, ad legem bonum esse. Ita fit ut quæ legibus nusquam vindicantur illic sine vi ac tumultu coerceantur ab ijs censoribus, qui summam virtutis opinionem de se ipsi excitarunt. Igitur nulla meretricia, nullæ ebrietates, nullæ saltationes, nulli mendici, nulli ociosi in eâ civitate reperiuntur.

¹ As seems to have been first written, and vppon: then as above.

² For the note belonging to this passage see the latter part of the longer note on pages 176/7.

³ Doubtful whether *scl* or *set* (=scilicet).

- P. 28 (30). yet may the pope in the plenitude of his power suffer it, as he hath permitted that à brother might marrie his sifter, à neview his Aunte or à brother his brothers widowe, ¹(and if y^e new report be true, A father y^e Duke of Mantua his owne sonnes daughter.) and if Sannazarius speake truth Lucretia may be to pope Alexander y^e sixt, filia sponfa nurus. If somme Wicklevist peradventure might be in love with other mens wives, the papal priests in reprehending them forgett the beame in their owne eye. For cleerely ever since priests marriage hath in the church binne yeither defamd or forbidden, they still haue had
- P. 29 (31). *παρειστάτους* focarias concubi||nas, and thence haue had the Bishops for sufferance no small reuenew: of this in another place. onely I will remember what sommetimes hath binne song by I knowe not whome as I finde it registerd in an ould Manuscript, where wee reade thus.

I haue lived now fortie yeres
 And fatter men abowte the neres
 Yet saw I never then are theis Freres.
 Meteles so megre are they made
 That eche one is an horse lade.
 Were I a man that house helde
 If any woman with me dwelde
 There is no Frere but he were geld
 Shold come withinne my wones
 For may he till à woman winne
 In privity, he will not blinne

¹ In the MS. the seventeen words which are enclosed in round brackets are carefully erased.

Or he à childe putt her withinne
 And perchaunce two at once.
 Though he loure vnder his hode
 With semblaunce quainte and milde
 If thou him trust or doe him good
 By God thou art bygylde.¹ ||

P. 29 (31).

49. '*In forcible maneere.*'—For this matter if any guilt were in y^e Wicklevists, the papists neede not blame any bodie much for insurrections which are so frequent amongst themselves. But I conceive that 'whosoever shall reade our Worthy Foxe his monuments shall finde the matter full otherwise, and that in zeale of religion as did the primitive Christians the Wicklevists as Waldensis notes of them had their secrett meetings bothe by daye and nighte.

50. '*Ageyn pilgrimages.*'—Of pilgrimages even to the holie land we maye reade no great commendations in Sainct Jerom and Gregorie Nyssen: of others see Erasmus his dialouges. and certainly being well examind they will proove not much better then those of the heathens of which Juvenal.

Ibit ad Ægypti finem calidaq; petitas
 A Meroe portabit aquas.

¹ In the margin here is written later, probably in James's handwriting :—||. So also Palingenius in y^e V. book of his Zodiack. Sed tua præcipuè non intret limina quisquam Frater, vel monachus, vel quâvis lege sacerdos : Hos fuge; pestis enim nulla hæc immanior : hi sunt fæx hominum, fons stultitiæ, sentina malorû, Agnorum sub pelle lupi, mercede colentes Non pietate Deum, falsâ sub imagine recti

P. 29 (31). see allso Chaufers Canterbury tales thetherward and Lydgates in the returne. 'see allso y^e answere of S^r Jhon Oldcastell himself in Bales brief cronicle of his martyrdome.

50. '*Ageyn the making of images.*'—To tell you of images worshipping left out by the papists aunciently in the ten commaundements left it shoulde reprehende their folly is no niewes. But I will heere admonish the reader to consider well, whether all the arguments made by Lactantius and other primitive Christian writers doe not as fully and effectually presse and overthrowe the superstition of the papists, as of the ould Gentiles.

63. '*Ageyn possessions.*'—For matter of possessions in reasonable forte the Wicklevistes would not haue binne much offended, if the abuse of them, and in them had not binne so infinite, of which all stories and times make complainte ynough. Wherefore, as y^e Templers were dissolvd in Edward the seconds time by pope Clement, and the Erles and Nobles of England shard their lands againe, which had binne given by their progenitors indifcretion. So would y^e Wicklevists haue the same donne vppon the monasteries, and at last righte or wrong they felt the knocke of Harrie the eigth prophesied against them by Piers Plowman, one that seemes to haue be-

Decipiunt stolidos, ac religionis in vmbrâ, Mille actus vetitos, et mille piacula condunt. Raptores, moechi, puerorum corruptores, luxuriæ atq; gulæ famuli :

¹ 'See allso . . . martyrdome.' These words are later additions, in James's handwriting.

held the ruine of the Templers. And in this part I will say noe more than what Mathiew Paris hath related of Harrie y^e third. Rex henricus tertius, faith he, magistro hospitalis Hierosolymitaniin domo de Clerekenwelle querulo de aliquâ injuria, et ostendenti chartas Regum et suam de protectione respondit iratus voce elevatâ prævio magno juramento. Vos prælati et relligiosi maximè tamen Templarij et Hospitalarij tot habetis libertates et chartas quòd superflua possessiones vos faciunt superbire et superbientes insanire. Revocanda sunt igitur prudenter quæ imprudenter sunt concessa. Believe me in any thing that ever I read of this prince, he never spake more sufficiently, but his actions were so divers, that à Pope by his Bull commaunds him to holde his hands from liberalitie to holie vses, because he did thence partely so exhauste himself as he was not able to paye the yeerely tribute vnto which the Pope had made England obnoxious by the injurie of his father king Jhon. What doe theis abject Monks talke of the ruining their demaines, when of the glorious temple at Jerusalem there is not left à stone uppon à stone for the transgressions of y^e Jewes, when age and disordre must conclude the heavens. And they even from Sainct Jeromes time are everie where in best writers the calamitie of the Christian world. But they might saye somme haue binne reformd. No not possibly, for their whole frame of life after they became cenobiticall was yether vnusefull, or wicked of necessitie in the moste, whoe never did, never will, or ever may keepe chastitie, povertie, and obedience against the more vrgent rules of nature and civilitie. They

indeede pretended to followe Christe neerely, but the whole rabblement of clergie that pursued with fire and sword the Noble valiant Oldcastell and manye other well deserving Wicklevists followed Christe so farre of, as that our former poete Gower could finde no similitude betwixt the Maister and disciples, when he enters thus into comparison :—

Inter praelatos dum Xpi quæro sequaces
 Regula nulla manet quæ prius esse solet.
 Xps erat pauper, illi cumulantur in auro,
 Hic pacem dederat hij modo bella movent.
 Christus erat largus, hij sunt velut arca tenaces
 Hunc labor invasit, hos fovet aucta quies.
 Christus erat mitis, hij sunt tamen impetuosi,
 Hic humilis subijt, hi supereffe volunt.
 Christus erat miserans, hi vindictamq; sequuntur,
 Sustulit hic poenas hos timor inde fugat.
 Christus erat virgo, sunt illi raro pudici
 Hic bonus est pastor, hi sed ovile vorant.
 Christus erat verax, hi blandaq; verba requirunt,
 Christus erat justus, hi nisi velle vident.
 Christus erat constans, hi vento mobiliore
 Obstitit ipse malis, hi magis illa sinunt.
 Hi pleno stomacho laudant jejunia Christi.
 Christus aquam petijt, hi bona vina bibunt.
 Et quotquot poterit mens escas præmeditari
 Lautas pro stomacho dant renovare suo.
 Esca placens ventri sic est et venter ad escas
 Ut Venus à latere stet bene juncta gulæ.
 Respuit in monte sibi Christus singula regna
 His nisi mundana gloria sola placet.
 Creverunt et opes et opum furiosa cupido,
 Et cùm possideant plurima plura petunt

Sufficit his solâ fictæ pietatis in vmbrâ,
 Dicant pomposi quod pius ordo Dei.
 Pro fidei meritis prælati tot patiuntur
 Unde viros sanctos nos reputamus eos.

Theise last verses of Gower expresse à manner of the clergie in all delicacie of life vsinge to lament themselves of sufferance for Christe. Of this manner Giraldus Cambrenis allso doth sommewhere make sportefull mention, and so vppon à fat priour Clement Marrot hath given vs this epigramme.

Un gros prieur son petit filz baisoit
 Et mignardoit au matin en sa couche :
 Tandis rotir sa perdrix on faisoit
 Se leve, crache, esneutit, et se mouche;
 La perdrix vire : au sel de broque en bouche
 La devora, bien scavoit la science
 Puis quand il eut prins sur sa conscience
 Broc de vin blanc, du meilleur qu' on elise
 Mon dieu, dit il, donne moy patience
 Qu' on ha de maux pour servir sainte Eglise.

Such ever were and of necessity were the manners and condicions of monasteries : magnum nomen ei gratia nulla rei, is aunciently spoken of Clarevalle and is true of all. So that I never can haue pittie of their ruine in Harrie the 8th his time. With what minde so ever they sett vppon that buisnesse, quô turpior manus eo melior vindicta is well spoken as well of the monasteries as the conspiracie of the Pope and Cardinalls. Theis monasteries were an ould offence as well of the Bisshops & parochiall Clergie, as the Gentry and Laeticie of our land, and if Harrie the eighth as he robd the thief had restored to the true men the goods

and lands which they had stolen, I meane as well the impropriations to the clergie as the lands vnto the Nobles and Gentry, his worcke had binne heroique and iust and religious. And heere I must not forgett to doe Wicklife right against ye calumnie of mistaking ignorance. Somme say that as he was an enemy of monasteries, so also of our Colledges in the Vniuersitie, whereas the matter is wholly otherwise ; The Colledges against which he often declames, were the seminaries heere of Moncks and Friars, of whome he writes plainly in his printed prologue of y^e Bible, otherwise for our plaine vniuersitie societies so great love was betwixt Wickleve and them, as when order came from y^e Pope for suppressing him and his doctrine, they had it in consultation, whether they should not dishonour the instrument by which that buisnesse was commaunded, and Wicklif in his countrey homilies touching vpon somme harder pointes sayes that theis things ought to be disputed in the learned Schoole of Oxenford. No lett not our Colledges feare that the ruine of monasteries any thing concernes them, but lett vs take care that we euerie way flie their exemple of lazie ignorance, luxurie and discord. And heere I shall end theis notes with the memorie of Sr. Jhon Oldcastells death thus reported by à malignant hyfforian neere y^e time. An. v^o. Henr. V., was Sr Jhon Oldcastell ycalled y^e Lord Cobham take[n] in y^e marche of Wallys and broughte to y^e citie of London, y^e which was chieff Lord and meyntenour of alle y^e Lollardes in this realme, and euer aboute to distroye to his power holy chirche. And therefore he was first ydrawed and after-

ward yhonged and brent hanginge on y^e newe galowes byfyde Seint Gyles with an yren cheyne aboute his necke bycause that he was à Lord of name, and so there he made an ende of his curfede lyfe. And lett y^e reader knowe y^t besides y^e memories of this valiant Gentleman in Foxe, Tyndall allso and Bale haue in severall¹ books sett forth y^e whole proceffe of his martyrdomme.

*

Memories of s^r Jhon Oldcastell
which I receivd from y^e
courtesie of M^r Tho:
Philpott herald.

P. 32 (34).

*

Peter oldcastell of y^e ould castle within y^e Countye of Herreford esquier. ab eo John. ab eo Jhon, ab eo Richard knyght, ab eo Johannes nofter. he had 3 wyues, and issue by two of them. ¹v^{et}. by his first two sonnes and two daughters, by the second, none: by his third à daughter onely.

From one Harpole à faithfull servant and steward to this S^r. Ihon Oldcastell is descended one S^r. William Harpole that lives in Ireland.

Vppon à grauestone in y^e middle of y^e great chancell in Ashchurch neere Sandwich in Kent is y^e figure of Roger Clyderow and his wife daughter of s^r Jhon Oldcastell insculped in brasfe and this inscription. Hic jacet Rogerus clyderowe armiger et vxor ejus

¹ i.e. *videlicet*.

IV.
OF SHAKESPEARE.

1632.

NOTE.

Of this—in parts—great Poem, see our Introduction. It is given *verbatim* from the famous folio of 1632. Therein it comes after Ben Jonson's.—C.



*On Worthy Master Shake-
speare and his Poems.*

A *Mind reflecting ages past, whose cleere
And equall surface can make things appeare
Distant a Thousand yeares, and represent
Them in their lively colours just extent.
To out run hasty time, retrieve the fates,
Rowle backe the heavens, blow ope the iron gates
Of death and Lethe, where (confused) lye
Great heapes of ruinous mortalitie.
In that deepe duskie dungeon to discern
A royall Ghost from Churles; By art to learne
The Physiognomie of shades, and give
Them suddaine birth, wondring how oft they live.
What story coldly tells, what Poets faine.
At second hand, and picture without braine
Senselesse and soulesse shoves. To give a Stage
(Ample and true with life) voyce, action, age,*

*As Plato's yeare and new Scene of the world
 Them unto us, or us to them had hurld.
 To raise our auncient Sovereignes from their herse
 Make Kings his subjects, by exchanging verse
 Enlive their pale trunks, that the present age
 Ioyes in their joy, and trembles at their rage :
 Yet so to temper passion, that our eares
 Take pleasure in their paine ; And eyes in teares
 Both weepe and smile ; fearefull at plots so sad,
 Then laughing at our feare ; abus'd, and glad
 To be abus'd, affected with that truth
 Which we perceive is false ; pleas'd in that ruth
 At which we start ; and by elaborate play
 Tortur'd and tickled ; by a crablike way
 Time past made pastime, and in ugly sort
 Disgorging up his ravaine for our sport —
 — While the Plebeian Impe from lofty throne,
 Creates and rules a world, and workes upon
 Mankind by secret engines ; Now to move
 A chilling pittie, then a rigorous love :
 To strike up and stroake downe, both joy and ire ;
 To steere th' affections ; and by heavenly fire
 Mould us anew. Stolne from our selves —*

*This and much more which cannot bee exprest,
 But by himselfe, his tongue and his owne brest,
 Was Shakespeares freebold, which his cunning braine
 Improv'd by favour of the nine fold traine.
 The buskind Muse, the Commick Queene, the graund
 And lowder tone of Clio ; nimble hand,*

*And nimbler foote of the melodious paire,
The Silver voyced Lady; the most faire
Calliope, whose speaking silence daunts.
And she whose prayse the heavenly body chants.*

*These joyntly woo'd him, envying one another
(Obey'd by all as Spouse, but lov'd as brother)
And wrought a curious robe of sable grave
Fresh greene, and pleasant yellow, red most brave,
And constant blew, rich purple, guiltlesse white
The lowly Ruffet, and the Scarlet bright;
Branch't and embroydred like the painted Spring
Each leafe match't with a flower, and each string
Of golden wire, each line of filke; there run
Italian workes whose thred the Sisters spun;
And there did sing, or seeme to sing, the choyce
Birdes of a forraine note and various voyce.
Here hangs a mossy rocke; there playes a faire
But chiding fountaine purled: Not the ayre
Nor cloudes nor thunder, but were living drawne
Not out of common Tiffany or Lawne.
But fine materialls, which the Muses know
And onely know the countries where they grow.*

*Now when they could no longer him enjoy
In mortall garments pent; death may destroy
They say his body, but his verse shall live
And more then nature takes, our hands shall give.
In a lesse volume, but more strongly bound
Shakespeare shall breath and speake, with Laurell crown'd*

*Which never fades. Fed with Ambrosian meate
In a well-lyned vesture rich and neate.
So with this robe they cloath him, bid him weare it
For time shall never staine, nor envy teare it.*

The friendly admirer of his
Endowments.

I. M. S.

V.

OF FELTON AND BUCKINGHAM.

NOTE.

In the "Annales" of Scotland of SIR JAMES BALFOUR (Works, 4 vols. 8vo. 1825: vol. ii. pp. 174/5) there is the following notice of the present poem on Felton:—" [Thursday 27 of November 1628] At this tyme, one Mr. James, ane attender one S^r Robert Cotton, a grate louer of his countrey, and a hatter of all suche as he supposed enimies to the fame, was called in question for wretting some lynes, wich he named a statue to the memory of that vorthy patriot S. Johne Feltone." He inserts the 'lynnes;' but his spelling is odd and inaccurate. I prefer the Sloane MS. as given by Fairholt. See Introduction on this nervous and noticeable poem.—G.



FELTON COMMENDED, ETC.



MMORTALL man of glorie, whose brave
hand
Hath once begun to difinchaunt our land
From magique thraldome. One proud man
did mate

The nobles, gentles, commons of our ftate ;
Struck peace and warr at pleafure, hurl'd downe all
That to his idoll greatnes would not fall,
With groveling adoration ; facred rent
Of Brittain, Saxon, Norman princes ; fpent
Hee on his pandors, minions, pimpes, and whores,
Whilst their great royall offspring wanted dores
To fhut out hunger, had not the kinde whelp
Of good Eliza's lyon gave them helpe ;
The feats of juftice forc'd to fay, they lye,
Vnto our auntient Englifh libertie.
The ftaine of honour, which to deedes of praife
And high atchevements fhould braue fpiritts raife,

The shippes, the men, the money cast away,
Under his onely all-confounding sway.
Illiads of griefe, on toppe of which hee bore
Himselfe triumphant, neither trayned in lore
Of artes nor armes; yet in a hautie vast
Debordment of ambition, now in haste,
The cunning Houndhurft¹ must transported bee,
To make him the restorer Mercurie
In an heroick painting, when before
Antwerpian Rubens' best skill made him soare,
Ravish't by heavenly powers, vnto the skie,
Opening and ready him to deifie
In a bright blisfull pallace, fayrie ile.
Naught but illusion were wee, 'till this guile
Was by thy hand cut off, stout Machabee;
Nor they, nor Rome, nor did Greece euer see
A greater glorie. To the neighbour flood
Then sinke all fables of old Brute and Ludd,
And give thy statues place; in spight of charme
Of witch or wizard, thy most mightie arme,

¹ Gerard Honthorst, a famous Dutch painter, had instructed the Queen of Bohemia in painting, and was invited by her brother, King Charles I., to England, where he became celebrated for emblematic pictures. He painted the staircase at Hampton Court, and represented Charles and his Queen seated in the clouds, as Apollo and Diana; the Duke of Buckingham, as Mercury, introducing the Arts and Sciences to their notice. D'Ifræli, in his "Curiosities of Literature," mentions another allegorical picture of the Duke, which appears to rival the above in bad taste.—F.

With zeale and iustice arm'd, hath in truth wonne
The prize of patriott to a Brittish sonne.

[Sloane MS. 603: Fairholt, pp. 69-70. Poems and Songs relating to George Villiers Duke of Buckingham; and his Affassination by John Felton, August 23, 1628. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by F. W. Fairholt, F. S. A. 1850 (Percy Society). I must add, that I searched in vain in Sloane MS. 603 for the Poem. The number must be wrong.—G.]

VI.
POEMS AND TRANSLATIONS
FROM
JAMES MS. No. 35
IN
THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

NOTE.

In the James MS. (No. 35) pages 3 and 4 have been misplaced and put at the end. They complete the opening poem, and hence ought to have followed page 2. Of these Poems, see our Introduction. The order of the MS. (save as above) is followed throughout. Mr. Corser quoted from this MS. A collation has corrected some mis-readings, &c. &c.—G.



AN APOLOGIE FOR À LOOKING GLASSE
BY APULEIUS AGAINST ONE ÆMILIAN.

* * *



SUPPOSE I haue à glasse to view my face
To see each commelye lineament and grace
Within that parte which Nature did vpreare
To view y^e face of heauen and to beare
The stampe of manhood. Certes tis no crime,
A stately image in a crystalline.
Or there within à prettie daintie elf
Expressing y^e symmetrie of my self,
Which I loue best as parents doe loue best
The childe that best resembles boue y^e rest.
And best we loue those statues which we see
Erected to owne worth and chivalrie
By thanckfull citizens. Or doe you please
To see à labourd stone effigies
And scorne y^e gift of nature which doth playe
Our selues vnto our selues in shining daye.

Much labour, weekes and monthes and yeeres are spent
To make à marble with shoare sand relent
Into our fashion, and through all partes rize,
Shape and conforme it self to humane guize :
At length by skillfull arte, with members hue
Able to couzen a rash gazer's view.
Yet in à looking-glasse alone we haue
The life of motion where pictures braue
Are onely not their masters, to relate
Besides y^e bodies likenesse, gesture, gate.
Were they so lardgely hollowe as to give
An Eccho, sure then would y^e picture live.
The progresse of our age and chainge, and all
It tells from cradle to y^e funerall.
It laughes to see y^e bodie will by turnes
Reioice it self, and when that cries this mournes.
Brasse, virgin waxe, earth's choicest, marble fine
Scarce are of likenesse, this alone divine
Of imitation. Men before their passe
Are made by spiritts in a looking-glasse.
The statue and y^e table allwayes one
Are carcasses for picture to reflexion.
Lacedemonian Agesilaus
Of ficture and picture was scrupulous,
Because he was distrustfull of his shape,
Perchance dog-snowted or like vrchin ape.
But if besides we will with all y^e maine
An vniverfall custome still retaine
Of imagerye, and still be pleased to see

Well represented physiognomie.
Why shoud you chuse good Sir Æmelian
Rather to see y^e pourtraict of à man
In stone then cristall chac'd in silvern sphere.
An Enchiridiall glasse your self to beare.
Tis not dishonest. Socrates y^e wife
Did of his schollers as they say advize
There to behould their personage, if faire,
Pittie themselves should not be debonnaire.
To staine a proper beautie, and with base
Soiling behaviour looze nature's grace.
Those whome y^e glasse did not congratulate
With delectable countenance and state
Of visadge, shoud by industrie vnruide
And vertue's splendour, nature's turpitude..
So did the sage philosopher deffine
A glafs for manners fitting discipline.
And if thou hast heard of Demosthenes,
Before a glafs he first did act his pleas,
To learne à decent gesture. Then at bar,
At will y^e thunder of his voice made war.
And when he would to peace with milder frame
He luld the senate and y^e people tame :
Great oratour, from Plato eloquent,
From Logique Eubule quick of argument.
A glafs was onely Maister of his voice,
The complement of all. I praise his choice.
If Lawyers vse à looking-glafs to make
Their voice with postures and with gestures take

The eares of learned people, while they chide
A case of batterie on the plaintife side.
Or doe direct y^e auncient terriers, where
The boundes and bancks of neighbour lands apeere.
Shall not y^e iust philosopher conceive
A fashion of himselfe forehand with leave.
Aske censure of y^e glasse before he goe
Into his pue, to lett y^e Ruffian knowe
His looseness, make y^e griping vsurer
Cast up to orphants and y^e widdouer
His gorge of ill gott coyne, and when he doth
The state of good and evill tender forth.
And not for this alone à glasse must be
Within ye studie of philosophie.
The hidden secrets there of prospective,
Of shadowes and of shapes she must retrieve.
Manie offings of our selves with image pure
Doe flowe on everie side, faith Epicure,
And striking quick vpon somme solid plaine,
And bright, vnto our eyes returne againe.
Plato, Architas and ye Stoicks will
Make vp this vision with à divers skill.
Of this and that and many other shewe
Philosophers must still enquire and knowe
By often speculation. Why y^e glasse
That leuell is, an equall picture has
Vnto ye bodie ! why y^e ovall lesse
The concave larger is of propernesse !
How tis y^t in à glasse ye pourtraicts, walke,

Turne sides from left to right while neighbours talke ?
Walke in when they walke forwards, and do meete
At their returning as it were to greete ?
The burning glasse beate on with scorching beame
Strikes back vppon an hoast a flaming streame.
The heavens are glasses, when they doe reflect
Two suns, à rainebowe various of aspect.
Manie such things ye learned Archimede
Of Siracusa hath discovered
In lardge and subtile treatise: noble sonne
Of Euclide, in earth's mete proportion,
Yet of no praise more noble then because
On looking-glasse he oft made curious pause.
Whose look if thou couldst scanne, ignoble swaine,
Quick wouldst thou leave thy furrowes and y^e plaine
To set ye furrowes of thy face, departe,
And with like rugged furrowes plowe thy heart.
Despaire and envie staye ye y^t dar'st shend,
A man did neuer thy sheepe coate offend.

A TRANSLATION OF LUCRETIVS OR RITTERHUSIVS IN
HIS NOTES VPPON ISIDORE PELUSIOTA.

* *
* *

A world of wonder 'tis and argument
God to shewe forth all-wise and provident,
When y^e creation and whole world of men
Hath not two all alike of visfadge; when
His livelie hand with curious arte and grace

Hath runne such descant on each mortall face ;
Never y^e same, although somme paires there be
Agreeing much in phyfiognomie ;
To whome a man y^t carefull is to greete,
May well misplace his morning in y^e streete.
Yet followe home, and easly we learne
To varie our acquaintance, and discerne
Twins different of character, and none
Fully to render their complexion ;
Not if on Pegasus we sought a birth
Through all y^e nations of y^e teeming earth.
Graie eyes, black eyes haue many, manywise ;
Noses are flat or like in longer size.
Yet more or lesse in look and feature still,
We shall except something not paralell.
The various looks and formes of men are even
So many as y^e sands or stars of heaven.
Nor may you deeme y^e frames of wits and minde
To be lesse sorted in à divers kinde.
Be better heere enformd by truth's defence,
Mistris of reason, sure experience.
So many men, so many pleasures, and
So many vowes, wills, judgment, understand.
That which is beautifull and gives delight
To one, is ugly in another's sight.
If by men and nations we deeme vice
And vertue, surely bothe are but device.
Or if I grant it hardely that there be
Manie of like affection, in degree

And manner still they varie ; ardent one,
Another calmer, and a third soone gonne
From all his purpos ; uppon which a fourth
Stayes longer to enjoye and reape y^e worth.
Manie please to be chaste, but not alike ;
Virinitie to him is angelique,
The life of heav'nly foules, where till he goe
He straines their purer exercise belowe.
Another, chaste in mariage, and desire
To be of hopefull children aged fire ;
That vnto them he may, good man and kinde,
Leave sparks and flame of pietie behinde.
Another, not to be vnchaste, againe
Will marrie though it be his losse and paine ;
Though in a former marriage he hath
Triede stormes more hurling then grimme Neptune's wrath.
All iuste men are not in one manner iuste
Nor mercifull, nor wise, nor prudent iuste
Alike, nor valiant ; and more or lesse,
Men that be sober doe themselves addresse
In pleasures. Somme do rownd for honours trie,
As if in them did all true blessings lye ;
Whilst others farre from waves of civill strife
Unto a meaner state compose their life.
They others knowe, love courts and concurse, theis
Onely to knowe themselvs, and kindly please
A few discerning friends, whoe are content
With natures easie and harmeles merriment ;
Knowing full well y^t all is vaine and rude

Amongst y^e vulgar foule, and multitude
Of vncollected men ; where they gett naught
But sad repentance, or à troubled thought.
And as in vertue's harmonie, y^e store
Of discords are in vicioufnesse farre more.
Manie their livers heated haue with luste,
But not alike so tainted and vnjuste
And vilde in their offence ; theis kindly warme
And coole againe within à maiden arme.
One, in her netts is toild, whose ramping hands
Hath riven all y^e trust of marriadge bands.
Another, in such monstrous luste doth breake,
As modest nature blufsheth ere to speake.
This man is bould against all daingers ; he
Feares his own shadowe, and each waving tree.
He partes à figg, rich onely to his heyre,
Poore to himself, and in all plentie bare
Of all things ; whilest another spends with might
The well gott state, inheritance, and right
Of manye auncestors ; as if he did
Hate his owne riches, and made haste to bid
The first adieu to fortune. Somme haue ease
In flatterie, with servile words to please.
Another, knottie man, two Catoes sterne,
Will not for any conversation turne
His stubborne course. Another, feedes his eyes
On torments, bleeding wounds, and cruelties.
And somme so fainte there be, whoe scarce can heare
Or reade y^e tale of Troye withoutte à teare.

The swollen fownding rage of anger doth
Breake manye narrow breasts with spight, vncooth,
And hot, and fierce, and ragefull turbulent
By reason of y^e fierie element.
When other airie spiritts like cold deere
Tremble each gutt and joynte with quaking feare.
Somme make their idol pleasures, honours he,
Another riches, to which all things be
Of purchas, and before whose feete fall downe
Both rev'rend mitre and y^e stately crowne ;
Riches y^e price of vertue, though some strainge
Hier aspiring mindes will scorne y^e chainge.
Somme pine with envie, others weene to cheste
Eternall hatred in à mortall brest.
Somme loue to drowne y^e daye in liquid feastes,
Somme loue y^e theatre, where men like beastes
Mangle each others flesh. Somme loue to heere
The noise of instruments and voyces cleere.
Somme dote on pictures, somme on statues ould,
Somme are too tender fronted, somme to[o] bould ;
Strong brazen faces, on which modestie
Dar'd never spread à blushing virgin die.
One for experience like Vlisses strayes,
With much desire to learne and see what rayes
Warme forreyne lands, and them he loues to praise
Aboue his native soyle, for happie dayes
And pleasauntnesse of life ; as if his fare
Were on y^e daintye lotos everie where.
Another, better joyd in home doth cast

Where he first breathd, to yeeld up life at last ;
To breathe no other ayre, to staye and dwell
Like lazie cockell in one lurking shell.
One robs y^e high wayes, one to citties grief
Robs more with biting vsurie, worfe thief.
One onely breaths and dreames of onslaughts, one
The fillie butcherd sheppe doth much bemone ;
So cruell is y^e one, so milde y^e other.
Bellona him enrages gainst his brother,
Adds fire and swoard vnto his furious arme,
And with y^e thundring canon strikes alarme.
At which y^e milder prince commes in to give
His countrey's treasure and owne state to live
Free from y^e storme of war in peace, which is
To him, y^e best of things, and onely blisse
Of life ; for peace he prayes, peace to procure ;
Gould is no valued substance, nor so pure.
And all his labours doe invite to peace,
When foule contention him deprives of ease.
One, allwayes mournes to see our miserie,
Another, allwayes laughs at vanitie.
Neither can any learning polish so
Two diuers natures, but they ever shewe
Their elementall qualities ; one will
Be sooner angrie, and another still
More slowe with feare ; a third, exceeding base,
Or verie meeke, will suffer all disgrace.
Necessitie is on it y^t there should
Be shapes and manners of so diuers mould.

Tis providence of which I not entend
To aske y^e secrett, and my verses end
For wante of names ; which none may ever finde
So manye as are natures in their kinde.

* *

A Defence of Red Haire against
à Poeme apologeticall for à Virginne
whoe was proper of all things
but a pale pock fretten face.

* *

LETT her be curded white, or as y^e moone
In th' earth's divorce left of y^e bridegroomes funne,
Or were she sleeke and white as yvorie postes
And alablatter praifd in toombes of ghostes.
Be she à white More, and let whiteneffe be
Beautie with vs as blacke in Barbarie.
And let no foile of blufh seeme to commend
Againe her modest whoe did nere offend.
Let's laugh y^e lover whoe in phansie seekes
Red cherrie ripe red lips and rosie cheekes.
All preciousnesse in feature, can belie
More then à sparkling dimond in each eye,
A sweete stinking wanton pigmie girle
T' haue bends of ebonye, cleere teeth of perle,
A sun-beame-passing smile, and if she whine,
Faint loue fees everie teare for crystalline.
Let goe thes, weening praise, and lively say

What God hath made her for à creature, say
Her thighes, knees, legs and feete are such as might
Haue stood à Roman Lucreſſe in deſpight
Of Tarquin's rampant luſte, ſay y^t her waſte
Well feeles and fills not rudely when embrac'd,
Say her ſides commely riſing vp to ſpred
Vnblemisht ſhowlders, armes and hands well fed
With veines and grasping finews, ſay her necke
Not drown'd in ſhortneſſe nor of length à checke
Vnto proportion, ſuch as ſhe maye wreath
To and agen and round, and after breath
A kiſſe more flagrant. Be her face to bleſſe,
Mand by a beard, à ſonne with properneſſe ;
Be ſhe as y^e white roſe new ſpred ; but ſhame
It is in praifing her to violate y^e fame
Of red haire men ; y^t colour doth not ſtaine
Or marke an Engliſh head vnto diſdaine.
Be it diſdainefull and a monſtrous hue
Amongſt ye roſted melancholie crue
Of Mores and Spaniards ; let ye Italians ſaine
All the ill-natur'd phanſies of their braine ;
Believe our fleſh is mummie, and a flood
Of madcap wilefire iffues from our blood.
For ſo this prettie ſtorie one while went
From à graue prelat to three Nuns of Trent.
Roſſo mal pelo ſay th' Italian maid
And wife vnwillingly becauſe afraid
Leaſt ye more louely pleaſing colour'd boye
Should make à huſband jelous of his joye.

So for y^e memorie of Ofiris slaine
By ruddie Typhon may Egyptians faine
Iustice in sacrifice of straingers, when
They but revendge their ruste as fairer men.
But on an English browe, à goulden tresse
Is herald to upprightnesse, couradge, valiantnesse,
To trustie secrett, whence on Trente and Twede
Tis proverb, To à red man rede thy rede.
By colour we derive theise vertues, Danes
Saxons and Normans colour in our veines ;
A progenie, which no black Countrie's fate
Shall ever finde or proove degenerate.
If she be proper white and commelye, rather
Marie y^e white rose and y^e red together,
And from their beds let spring and florish braue,
A race of Captaines to stand vp and saue
Our countries honour ; if y^e monarch thought
Of y^e Castilian, shall againe dare aught
Vppon our shoares, w' haue Amazons to breed
Niew names for victorie and war in steed
Of y^e stoute Norrice, Raleigh, Grindfield, Drake,
Whose ghoastes or actions if they once awake
Our restie peace, praise her in most true rimes,
Fit breeding mother to such manly times.
And I in y^e Orient lustre of a head,
Valiew my self no Spaniard, for his redd.

* * *

TO MR. ANTHONYE WHITE, WHOE HAD MADE AN
ELEGYE ON MY SUPPOSED DEATH IN RUSLAND.

* *

THOSE piteous rimes, in which you did lament
My death's reporte, with courteous intent,
I much desire to see, and with theise few
Suddaine vnmeasurd lines request a view.
'Tis kindly now to tell your friend he must
Hide all his thoughts and purposes in duste;
Duste, element of Nature, where ev'rie thing
At last is nothing more, nor prince nor king :
Imaginations cease, in which I
Am sometimes greater than a Sultanie
To frolicke with my friends, or but to tell
By a great refusall, that not all is well
With men of greatest state. O how I dreame
To shewe you that I live, and beg a theme
Of death, whose teeth I must sometimes abide,
With all y^e sequele and encreasing tide
Of men ; whose joints and bones although she crush,
She well digests our cares, and therefore huff
With silent mirth and confidence, I made
Haste to y^e portail of her grumbling shade ;
Yet turnd againe, when on y^e doares I red
My dayes of life were not yet perfited.
Well could I please to die ; but never please
Long at those doares staye courting grim diseafe,
Death's porter ; no where could I spie

The day and houre of my mortalitie.
 Friendly be heere my watchman with y^t verfe
 Which should haue binne summe honour to my herse,
 That in disprize of death à quick desire
 May keepe my soule still readie to aspire.

* *
 *

A funerall meditation on Richard Windfore : à
 gentle condiciond man, whoe found his death
 where he fought peace.

* *
 *

HEERE rests his duste whoe came to finde
 Or seeke out peace in living kinde.
 But seeke where euer, none shall haue
 Peace till our dust be rakt in graue.
 Our bodie dust and soule turnd ghoast
 Make peace, who ever rules y^e roast.
 The rich Lord heere may not disdaigne
 A poore and sillye trembling swaine.
 The guiltie man feares not y^e Judge
 Nor doth neede make y^e ould wife trudge.
 The oppreffor's voice heere soundeth not,
 Nor the thundring canon shott
 Can make y^e death-enchanted head
 Starte from y^e silence of his bed.
 Heere lye still and sleep at reste

F F

All poore, with those were of ye beste,
With Kings and princes, whoe did frame
Eternall mansions to their name,
With Counsellors and manie more
Whoe had of gould and silver store.
Briefly to speake ye perfitt blisse,
Which in y^e lowlie duste fownde is,
Besides à fraunchize from all feares
And joyes dissolving into teares.
The three professors are not wood
Heere to molest our triple good.
Heere where my friend sought not, he fownde
Peace at Sanctuarie vnder grownde.
In life of peace we treat and tell,
Peace in y^e duste doth onely dwell,
Vntill y^e Lord of peace againe
Commes riding on y^e clowdes amaine,
And shall with trumpett's flourish, raise
Our bodies to our soules, to praise
His holye name with blisfull quire
Of Angells burning in desire
To crie aloude and cheerfull singe
Vnto y^e triumph of their King;
This dittie which shall neuer cease
Holie, holie, holie Prince of peace.

* * *

To Captaine Jhon Smith

on y^e edition of his
owne life.

* *

DEERE Noble Captaine, whoe by fea and land
To acte y^e earnest of thy name hast hand
And heart; who canst with skill designe ye forte,
The leaguer harbor, cittie, shore and porte;
Whose sward and penne in bould ruff Martiall wife
Putt forth to trie and beare away y^e prize
From Cefar and Blaize Montuc; can it be
That men alone in Gonnells fortune see
Thy worth advanced: no wonder, since our age
Is now at lardge a bedlem or a staige.

* *

THE DEDICATION OF A SERMON TO MR SELDEN.

* *

GOE little book and kindly saye
Peace and content of night and daye
Vnto my noble *Selden*. Greete
His gentle hands, his knees, his feete,
In such faire manner, as not he
Deeme any fainednesse in me.

Say that thy Maister oft doth blesse
 For his kinde loue God's holinesse.
 And leaft thou hindrance be to ought
 That buifes his heroique thought ;
 Say not much more, nor wish replie ;
 But like y^e fillie larke in skie,
 When ended is his cheerfull laye,
 Warble Adieu, and fall awaye.

* *
 *

TO MR. I. S.

* *
 *

DEERE Noble friend, I in y^e Cittie heare
 Mongst other journall histories how neare
 You were to death, when airing on y^e top
 Of ledde, your long emprisonment, did droppe
 A barbed shaft, at which by malice shott
 Or foolish medlye chance you started not,
 Nor I at y^e relation, since I knowe
 Death's not your feare, which we to Nature owe.
 Ereft just mindes all servile feare aparte
 Secluded, their true course with constant heart
 Pursue, if others from themselues to flie
 Nor cloudes more arrowes drop, yet men must die.

* *
 *

TO MR. BENJ: JHONSON ON HIS STAPLE OF NIEWS
FIRST PRESENTED.

* *

SIR, if my robe and garbe were richly worth
The dainger of a statute comming forth,
Were I or man of law or law maker,
Or man of Courte to be an vndertaker ;
For judgement would I then comme in and say
The manye honours of your staple play :
But being nothing fo, I dare not haile
The mightie floates of ignorance, whoe faile
With winde and tide ; their Sires, as stories tell,
In our eigh *Harrie's* time crownd *Skeltons Nell*,
And y^e foule Bofs of *Whittington* with greene
Bayes, which on living frontes are rarelye seene ;
Soone sprung, soone fading ; but deserving verse,
Must take more lasting glorie from y^e herse ;
When vulgars loose their fight, and sacred peeres
Of poetrie conspire to make your yeeres
Of memorie eternall, then you shalbe read
By all our race of Thespians, board and bed ;
And banck and boure, vallie and mountaine will
Rejoice to knowe somme pieces of your skill ;
Your rich Mofaique workes, inled by arte
And curious industrie with everie parte
And choice of all y^e Auncients.—So I write,
Though for your sake I dare not fay and fight.

* *

An Execration on Marie of Colmogorod
in whose house I should haue binne
lodged if my man had not
tould me y^e condicion of
ye place.

* *

A JAILORS wife and bawd and witch and hoare,
A legion of foule diuells storme thy doare.
For he whoe enters there to sporte or reste,
Is hoares, bawdes, diuells, witches, jaylors guesste.
If I wronge nature, turne parasite, or offend
The well growne credit of my bosomme friend ;
Then all theise names take person, and make me
Runne mad familiar to such companie.
Till then good Genius faue me, that no spell
Intice my looseness to that sinck of hell.
Shee turnes no currents nor makes Phebe faire
With staine and bluddie semblance fright y^e aire.
But y^e poore caitife maid, whoe with her sinne
Makes vp y^e rent of so incestuous Inne.
Her arme she withers vp, because ye toye
Hath now forsaken ye vaine merchants boye,
To hire à mischief, when not long before
Not feing well her brocadge and y^e hoare,
She makes his bags of luste enflame as bigg
As futbals, and againe with champing of a figg
Returne vnto their measure, more then poetes faine
Is historie in her, when y^e could churle waine

Vnthanghs his secrets, or fhall crack afunder
His pack of witchcraft, great wilbe y^e wonder
Of Fins, Laps, Samouites, magique withoute fraude
In Lifeland exiles and this Ruffian bawde.

* *
*

AN EXECRATION OF HOTT WATER.

* *
*

Thow drinke of death, thogh from life cald
Which dofte our mawes and livers skald,
Onely be thou dranck of witches,
Pedlers, tinkers, and their bitches.
Bawdes, whoares, spent Ruffians, midnight dames,
Parboile their rotten finnes and flames
In thy blue liquour, bafe begotte,
Daughter of Ceres in Hell's grott,
By Pluto, Lord of ghoasts and fo
Thow and baye falt doft make vs showe
Mixt in à flame by night. Braue, free,
Couragious Julian I doe pardon the[e]
The name of falling back, for ftill
In deedē thogh not in name and will
Thy life was Chriftian, hating all
In meate or drink which makes men thrall
Vnto themfelves; or when ye rude
Mad Celticks were by him fubdude
He allfo did their burnt wine damme,
And fcorne with this choice Epigramme.

What kind of Bacchus drinke? I, by ye true
 I know y^e not. Jove's sonne I onely kniewe,
 He smelt of ambar, thou goate-like dost stincke
 In wante of grapes by bowles of corne-made drinke.
 Thow Bacchus-like no Bacchus arte of Joue,
 But Ceres sonne borne in à Celtique stoue.

* *
 *

A CONSULTATION WITH MYSELF, WHEN I WAS CONFIN'D
 INTO CLOSE KEEPING BY Y^E. LORDS.

* *
 *

DEERE God, by whome in darcke wombe's shade
 I am to feare and wonder made,
 Learne me what parte I am to beare
 On this world's stage and theatre.
 Miters and croziers are not things
 That giue to my ambition wings.
 For theis I nere did Mammon woe,
 Nor flatter one great Lord or twoe.
 But with a simple diett fed
 Scarce cloath'd and frinded with a bed,
 I was content in middle rancks
 Of meaner forte to view y^e prancks
 And feates of men more active, whoe
 Are better pleas'd in what they doe
 Then I, whoe sceptikly scarce dare
 Of beare, of lion, or of hare,

Or y^e worfe race of Malepard
Lowd ſpeake what I haue ſeene or heard.
Yet thrice I haue binne hal'd before
Our Ephoriſmes of ſtate full fore
Againſt my will. And ſure I muſt,
Before to tiring roome of duſte
I turne, inſtruſt ſomme ſcene, and giue
My name to ſtorie, whileſt I live.
Then, whether on Italian ſtage
Or Engliſh, free or forc'd, I rage
Or ſteale a ſilent parte, let be
Deere Lord, my ſowles reſt ever free.
As of Calanus lett none ſay
Truly of me another day
That I, well ſeene in antique lore,
Did other Lords then God adore.¹

* *
*

A NIEW YEERES SONG FOR A PRINCE.

* *
*

SOFTLY Muſique touche y^e fringe,
Which muſt wake our gentle Kinge.
Then praye him lende à hearing cleere
Now timely in y^e niew borne yeare,

¹ Compoſed by the Author R. James : Written wth his owne hand,
and preſented to m[e] J. Rous, Bibl. 1633.

To an infusion from y^e penne
 Of prince and prelat, best of men.
 In holy rites, artes, armes and all
 Faire vertues hegumenicall [=ecumenical
 Cirenes peerelesse prelat gaue
 Arcadius his Lord to saue
 This reenforc't advice. Beware
 Ye that of people rulers are,
 Beware of flatterie, with flie arte
 Which doth invade y^e princelie parte
 Your soules, through your Pretorian bands
 Where Godlike Trajan's wisdome stands,
 Not ever sentinell, and swayes
 From prive flights to publike wayes,
 High rodes of justice, where to none
 The villaine flatterie is vnknowne.
 Where if he staye vntill y^e morne
 Even children crie him to y^e horne.
 Harrow harrow in Trajan's voice we leaue
 One cannot all nor will all one deceiue.

* *

TO ALBINA.

* *

THY teares Albina and thy spleene
 Laden with grievance, dartes haue beene,

To pierce my hearte ; faire Venus boye
Kniew that no dalliance, smile or toye
Could force my gardes of sadnesse, weepe,
Nor sorrow more or else take keepe
Leaft from this inmate of my breast
Another powrefull darte I reſte.
And for theis teares I make you proove
A worſe chainge of vnhappie loue.
The dayes that cloathe and feede and cloſe
Their evenings in ſoft beds reſoſe,
Whoe with repining's ſhame, ſcarce finde
A love that happie is and kinde.
Yet happie were I, deereſt, true
And kinde I ſhould be vnto you.

* *
*

TO ALBINA.

* *
*

DEEREſT Albina my deſire
Full readie were to kindle fire
And make à taper kindly flame
To Hymen's honour with your name.
But loue that heates y^e funne, againe
Nor cooles with gentle feare of paine,
To you encreaſing, ſince my ſtarres
As yours with fortune are at warres.

Shall we then joyne and furett chance,
With our vnited sufferance?
Or shall we in a purer fire
Of admiration and desire
Still burne like Laura and his bayes
Whose virgin greenneffe to our dayes
Fresh live: Your Noble spirit is
Not her's beneath, and mine like his
From everye course of nature, winge
Should make to finde out everie thinge
Which may by arte of poesie
Well sett adorne your elogie.
Which read by princes and their Queenes
Showld us with them for happie tweens
Of loue remember, when late age
Hath spent y^e furie of time's rage.
Summetimes in smooth *Anacreon's* veine
I'le arme you through y^e flowrie plaine.
Springs, hills, groues, meadowes, shall réporte
To nymphs and swaines our sweete resorte.
Summetimes to please your high disdaigne
I'le strike y^e mightie friend of *Spaine*
With such growne vengeance as did neare
Beate from *Alcæus* quill y^e eare
Of Greeks; then with softer number
I'le kisse you into easie slumber
Shaded and husht with waving trees
And y^e best harmonie that flees,
Which for you to my phansie yeelds

A dreame of y^e Elizian fields.
The practice of Lords old and new
I'le wrighte in storie strainge and triew ;
Which you before best Romance shall
Preferre ; then let y^e satire fall.
At which embraced favour, I
Mounthe with fresh courage to y^e skie,
To praise and not to search y^e eye
Of y^e all-viewing Dietie.
And dutie which to God and men
We owe, shall gently from my penne
In cleere streame of truth so glide,
As children shall and Ladies bide
In hollowes of y^e banck with playe
To wash y^e soyle of night and daye.
To such no sad illusions heere
Of braine-sick phanfies shall apeere.
But unto Tyrants and their traine
More fright shall showe then poets faine
Nor shall à rustie cankerd file
Of usurers, theise streames defile.
Yette shall theise streames with billowes roare
If malice doe but neere y^e shoare.
And if your goodnesse cheere me, more
I shall of antique truth restore.
At whose sight chac'd with prose and verse
Fals semblance shall her troupes disperse.
Most deere *Albina*, doe not weene
You heere à peacock's pride haue seene.

But for my true love spare to loose
Your self in a lesse worthy nooze.
Or as you please; for I not dare
Binde love in my sad life to share.
And to your soule with double glorie
If twice you enter purgatorie.

* *
* *

ANACREON'S FOLLIE.

* *
* *

If much store of goulden wealth
Might preserve our life and health,
I would with strong care gould keepe,
That when death beganne to peepe,
It might take thence and passe by.
But if mortalls may not buye
Life at any price of gould,
Why with sighs should I waxe ould?
Why send I forth dolefull cryes
Since no plaintes mooue destinyes?
Downe then with my gowlden heape,
Lett vs drinke and make wine cheape.
Drinke with pleasing friends sweete wine
With all choice of rich meates dine,
And at night on beds of downe,
Lay our softer Ladies downe.

* *
* *

. TO MR. PHILIP WOODHOUSE.

* *

SIR if you my Mistris wed
Be her friend at board and bed,
And before men that allowe
You must vnto Hymen vowe,
This and more, that vowe preserve,
She will still your loue deserve.
Gentle nature, noble aire,
Her encreasing triple faire,
Such as you perchance maye finde
In her Faerie Queene designd
Once by me, whoe cannot raise
Vnto meritt equall praise.
A wife that is more cleane then fine,
That is not sick in love with wine,
That fairer is of minde then face,
And yet there beares à gentle grace ;
Who is more proude of doing good
Then of descent from Noble blood.
Whose over zeale or fond delight
Doth neither vex y^e daye nor night
Her friend, whoe marryes, and in chief
From him doth holde her joye and grief.
At bed and board deere friends so blest
Praye wish to me eternall rest.
Faste vnion of hands and hearts

I that am Hymen's priest doe bleſſe
 But wanton Cupid's roving darts
 Working much vengeance, more or leſſe,
 On publique and in private ſtate,
 Braue ould Roomes ruine, be for hate
 To Courtes and Countries of y^e foe,
 Theiſe beaſtes enrage and of men make
 In reaſons loſſe I vndertake
 Worſe beaſtes then thoſe on foure feete goe.
 Chaſte marriage is Nature's due
 And bleſt of God abiding true,
 And bleſt of men, whoe often ſaye,
 O happie, and thrice, happie they,
 Whome evil jarres, vncivill ſtrife,
 Doe neuer parte till end of life.

* *

AN ANNIVERSARIE OF MARRIDGE TO MR.
 PHILIP WOODHOUSE.

* *

Now Sir, y^e funne or earth hath circled rownd
 Since you were fairely to my Miſtris bownd
 In holie ſpawfall rites. I then did praye
 My bleſſing on you bothe. And from that daye
 Till this, I heare of peace and love no breach,
 Which might, if ſtill y^e cuſtome ſtood, empeach
 Our journey vnto *Dunmowe*; *Dunmowe*, where
 Was bacon for true lovers, when à yeare

And daye expired, they would comme and faye
 And sweare, that neither did by night or daye
 Repent their tie of love. Lett dayes and yeeres
 So still continue to my gentle peeres
 Of love. Chafte loue, loue hymeneall be
 Your honour, as was virginne chafitie
Mathildae's, ould *Fitzwalter's* daughter; whoe
 Chose rather die a Nunne then basely doe
 The lustfull pleasure of a loose-bent prince;
 She died at *Dunmowe*. And hath bacon since
 Fed in *Fitzwalter's* forests by gift beene
 A sportfull prize for equall lovers-seene.
 But joye they in their vertue, chief reward
 Vnto itself in peace, though monks be bard
 From all their wilie triumphs, toyes and japes
 With which in *Chaucer* they make people apes.
 Or apes and feller beastes our selves we prooue,
 When we forsake faire order in our loue,
 Faire peace, faire constancie. And lett those wills
 Which disagree, goe dig downe *Mauborne* hills.

* * *

VPPON DEATH AND DIJNGE :

AGATHIUS HIS EP.

* * *

WHY feare we death, which matter is of reste,
 Cure of diseases, povertie's relief.

H H

By her we mortalls onely once are preft,
 She never doth present à fecond grief.
 But foule difeases manie manie wife
 Exchainge and multiplie our griefs and cries.

* *
 *

PALLADAS EPIGR. ON Y^R SAME.

* *
 *

PEOPLE'S furie, Tyrante's rage,
 Chandge of fortune and of age,
 Gufts of paffion, fright of hell,
 All this in our bodies dwell;
 When from them our foules are freed,
 To y^e eternall God they fpeed.

* *
 *

ARCHIAS EP. VPPON HUMANE LIFE.

* *
 *

I PRAISE y^e Thracian mothers whoe doe mourne
 For their children newly borne,
 Againe with bleffing them difmiffe, when fate
 Doth fnatch them from our mortall ftate.
 In birth they enter feas of mifchief; all
 Which, perifh in à funerall.

* *
 *

GREEK EP. VPON Y* SAME.

* *

ALL things are dufte and laughter, all things naught,
For out of fenfles things were all things wrought.

* *

POSIDIPPUS ON HUMANE LIFE : EP.

* *

WHAT courfe of life is choicfull ? plie y^e lawe
Ther's ftrife and doubtfull iffue. Staye at home,
'Tis thoughtfull. Culture of y^e fields doth drawe
And weare out ftrengh. Furrowe y^e briniſh foame,
Terror is in y^e ſea. Through forreyne lands whoe ſtraye
Well-ftor'd invite a villaine to their harme,
And nothing bore, makes manye à pining daye.
Goe marrie, and againſt thy cares no charme
Prevailes, yet lonesomme is à ſingle life.
Children, are forrowe, none, à civill maime.
Young yeeres, of trifling fooleries be rife
And ould at nought but reſtivenefſe doe ayme.
If then our foules might chuſe, beſt hereſie,
Life not to enter, or leaue preſentlye.

* *

METRODORUS ON HUMANE LIFE.

* *
*

TAKE any life, Courtes and rialtoes roome
 Haue for thy. witt and wisdomme. Staye at hoame,
 Ther's reste. The fields fresh nature. From y^e seas
 Commes wealth, which if in foreyne lands thou please
 To spend, tis glorious. If there thou wante, whoe knowes
 But thine owne self? Hast thou a wife? y^e clofe
 In house is pleasing: whoe not marries, more
 In ease may liue, and live wth greater store.
 Children are louelie, childlesse men no cares
 Haue, youthfull dayes and lustinesse are pares.
 Graye hayres best knowe religion. Be not wood
 Or not to liue or die, in life all's good.

* *
*

GREEK EPIGR. ON

EXCESSE.

* *
*

EXCESSE of bathing, wine, and luste
 Our bodies quickly turne to duste.

* *
*

BIZANTINUS GR. EP. AGAINST FLATTERERS.

* *

THAT prince whose eares to glozing flatterie
Are loft, betraies juft men to villanie
Of evill tounge; and therefore juſte men oughte
Hate bothe alike, for ſurelye bothe are naught.

* *

PALLADAS EP. ON PRIDE OF MEN.

* *

THOROUGH our noſtrills ſnuffing à thinne aire
We live and view ye heavens faire.
So all men live : we are but neuroſpaſts
Slight airie motions, winedye blaſts.
Shutt vp thoſe ventalls with an eaſie hand
Robd of our fowles, in graue we land.
So nothing being, with prowde hope we ſwell,
In durte à little aire doth dwell.

* *

AN EP. OF YE SAME SUBJECT AND PERSON.

* *

MAN if thou knowe what did thy father when
He the[e] begott, thou wilt all loftineſſe

Soone quitt, nor be puft vp with Platoe's pen
 Dreaming ye plant of heavn'lye dioceffe.
 Thow arte but claye fond man ; and fo the beft
 We fpeake of what thow arte in feemely phrafe.
 And if y^e naked truth thow not deteft
 I dare not faye, it is fo fowly bafe.

* * *

ON FLATTERERS OF GREATNESSE.

* * *

FLATTERERS confound humane ftate, they make
 Princes and prelates from y^e heavens to fall.
 And lett them fall from grace, and truth, and all
 Nature of goodneffe, vntill heavens take
 Their ftrict accounte. Their perfons are not aught
 In robe or royaltie if deedes be naught.

* * *

NICARCHUS HIS EP. ON FARTES.

FARTES ftified in ye gutts make manye die,
 Againe they fave, if forth they rumbling flie ;
 Then be not proud great princes, fince fartes haue
 As great a power as you, to kill or fave.

* * *

GREEKE EP. ON WINE.

* *

FOR no offence of mine my parents me
Begatt pore wretch, vnto ye graue.
O deadly coupling ! O necessitie
Which me to vgly death doth waue.
Nothing I shalbe as of nothing borne,
Nothing but nothing is our kinde.
Comme comme then Bacchus, in thy cup forlorne
I will Care's oblivion finde.

* *

ON ALTESA À NOBLE COMMELYE LADYE.

* *

FORTH walking to receive ye breathing aire
I was entreated by Altesa faire
To reach her downe à brainche of willowe tree ;
And I, then heedelesse that theis brainches be
Sad emblemes, did her pleasure. Sure y^e rose
And everie tulip that more lovely growes,
Would glorie in such honour. Commelye, tall,
In season, fresh, and flourishing with all
Nature's perfections muste Altesa fee
Her owne despaire in this wanne fruitles tree ?
Then beauties knowe, theis times your dowries doe
And not your persons or your vertues woe.

* *

ON KING CHARLES HIS RECOVERIE OF Y^r SMALE POXE.* *
*

THOUGH Gods vnto vaine people princes be
And fawning prelats giue immunitie
To them from law ; truth, and y^e courfe of things
In nature, knowe no priuledge of kings.
Poore home-bred fwaines and high-borne mightye kings
Are vnto chance and sicknesse equall things.
The King of England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales,
Hath felt y^e little poxe for all their tales.
But he's recovered. So ; kinde subjects, then
Praise God, and learne your princes are but men.

* *
*

A FUNERALL ELEGIE ON YONGE JACK SIMPSON.

* *
*

SEE how fruites growe ; summe fall betimes,
In ye blossomme with colde rimes.
Summe till à groath of shape doe staye,
And with red windes fall awaye.
Summe growe to feede à worme y^t will
Apple, peare, or damson spill.
If wanton children plucke not rathe
And à tempest worke no skathe.
That fruites doe vnto ripenesse growe,
Neither wrongd by jaye nor crowe,

Yet in the Autumne all muſt downe
To y^e baſkett of y^e clowne.
And even ſuch is humane kinde.
Therefore mortalls be not blinde,
Much to teeme this life of ours
Bownded to ſumme dayes or houres,
Summe weekes, ſumme monthes, ſomme yeeres y^t be
Nothing to eternite.
The God of Nature bleſſe vs there
And then heere, or when, or where
So ere we fall, againe we riſe
Ever more for to deſpise
This fruitlike fruitleſſe life of breath,
From which all are freed by death.
Now in this youth, tis all I write
Death had à greene appetite.

* *

VPPON A SLOTHFULL HUSBAND STILL CALLING HIS
WIFE CHICKE.

* *

CHICK ſtill and chick Torpedo calls his wife,
Whoe is à prettye pigeon withoute ſtrife.
He treads y^e chicke and chicke of broode is faine,
Still chicke? then hee's more capon of y^e twaine.

* *

To Cap^t David Gilbert, Scot. [Ad Capitaneum Dawidem
Gilbertum Scotum. cū ynâ nauiga remē
in Dwina flumine.]

* * *

Good worthy Captaine if I weare so fraught
And large of fortune as I am of thought,
Tis not bothe Indies, not a world's surprife
Could giue a present fit to equalife
And weigh the loue and wiſſhinge w^{ch} I owe
To men of whome I doe believe or knowe
Valor and arte, or happier goodneſſe; but
Like y^e proud tawringe faucon I muſt ſhut
The winges of my deluſion, and with ſpeeke
Stoupe to y^e lower willowes ſedge, and weeke
To leſſe my angrie appetite: onely Sir
You ſhall receive no rich Siberian furre
That ſcornes y^e ſpite of Winter & dos keepe
The Baiores warme at ſurfet, ſledd and ſleepe
When y^e cheape Mggicke to y^e publique uiewe
Lies hard on ice, ſcarce pittied but of ſiewe;
Shriul'd and ſtarke with colde, I ſend you heere
Scarce a remembrance for y^e Ruſſian yeere,
A thicke hot quilted could chillie ſtaruinge lap
To ſpeake true contrarietie but good hap;
To which I haue enchanted warmeneſſe if much heart
And loue could worke like their blacke murmuringe arte.
(From James MS. N^o 13).

To Mr Daniel Clutterbooke vpon

occasion keepinge himself a ship boarde

in the haven of Archangell in

Ruffia in a Hamborow ship.

You muste have patience with your skipper good,
Good Mr Clutterbooke, in your Isle of wood,
And every morninge in your Almanack spie
Somme gracious Ladie for to largifie
His orient nose : so shall our northern clime
No more run hazard to and thwart y^e line
For cloves and pepper ; but this hotter spice
Mindes me to be more serious of advise ;
You muste strike of[f] your daintiest rundlet's houpes
To gratifie this Mr Kinge of Poupes
And winne his humour, if perchanc he shall
Againe adventure on our Hubberts thrall.
To hurle him oreboard, good Hance to[o] fine a dish
For the Lap's turbet, sea hounds or codfish,
With memorie of good drinke, y^e may then well prevent
His honourship's rage and tarrie regiment ;
For what can the best pilot spie on shoare
What head land, flat land, high land, sande or hawre
To steere safe course, when an eternall smoake
Doth there both marriner and the passidge choake ?
An argument that all those nations are of right
Witches, and servauntes to the fiend of light.

You will remember & I then transcend
To speake to[o] of your selfe, or make an ende :
I am no buisie fellowe, to aske how or why
You leapt seven hunderd leauges, onely to buy
Fitches and Vermins skins, or but to pledg her
Whome you love best from me, or to lie ledger
In the Archangell haven, disconsolat for foxes
Or fox tailes, seven sennights amongest Butter boxes ;
To whome my prettie M^{rs} at no no call
Would warble forth her studied madrigall.
Tis fullen if you be to learne now, how to beare mischance
Which travails all our Merchants, Italie, Spaine, France ;
Whoe clothe themselves wth vs, though no fire burnes
As heere in Ruffia send but leane returnes ;
And so I end if so the poore may ende
And not abuse the name, your lovinge friend.

VII.
SACRED POEMS.

NOTE.

In the same year (1636) in which he wrote *Iter Lancastrense*, James translated into English a dialogue by Minucius Felix, called Octavius, which he published under the title, "Minucius Felix his Dialogue called Octavius; containing a Defence of Christian religion. Translated by Richard James, of C. C. C. Oxon. Printed by Leonard Lichfield for Thomas Huggins, 1636" (120). Appended, are the Sacred Poems, which follow.—G.



A GOOD FRIDAY THOUGHT.



THINKE how Christ in his
great pleasure tooke
A humane likenesse often in the
booke

Of man's creation, learning as
it were,
How in time's fullnesse Deity
could beare
The earnest of our flesh ; in it be
borne ;
Grow vp to three and thirty ;
then be torne
With scourges and the crosse ; be
crownd with thornes ;
Surprizd by treason, and revild
with scorns ;
Bee buffeted, bee spit on, to re-
store,
Those cruell actors to his loue
and lore ;

From which both they and wee
by serpent's wile
In our first parents fall vntill
this while
For eating some forbidden fa-
tall fruit,
Figge, Peare, or Apple ; which,
Ile¹ not dispute,
Astonisht with the wonder of
God's playe,
Amongst the sonns of men ; from
whence well may
We name our Gospell. He who
framed all
With one word, might without
a funerall
And passion of himselfe, all
repaire
With one new-pleasing breath
and gratefull aire.
But since for humane ransome
he would die,
I thus thinke on the sacred
histry,
As from the holy Moore I
learne. Behold

¹ ' Ile ' from MS. preferred to ' I. '

The price of man's redemption,
and be bold ;
To bleſſe all nations, Chriſt
his blood pourd forth :
What ranſome may be equall to
ſuch worth ?
What bee¹ all tribes of men ? In-
gratefull they
Or very proud, who dare to
thinke, or ſay
Theſelves ſo great, or this ſo
ſmall, that none,
Should be by ſuch price ſav'd
but they alone.

A CHRISTMASSE CAROLL.

SINCE now the jolly ſeaſon's
by
That giues and takes in curte-
ſy,
I that haue nought to giue will
ſing
A caroll to our infant King ;
The Prince of peace, the mighty Lord,
Who all created with a word.

¹ From MS. inſtead of ' but.'

And might so haue mankind
redeemd,
Had not another way best
seemd ;
Which I adore, not daring prie
In secrets of Divinity.
Haile blessed Virgin, mother
milde,
Which at this time didst beare
a childe !
Who in the booke of Genesis
Doth bruise the head of ser-
pents hiffe,
And so as in allegorie
Would their embleme Grand-
fire worie.
His cradle was a manger, fed
Where lie the serpents, and doe
bed
In lothsome ordure neare ; else
place
Should by Mariamne's grace
In Herod's softest downe haue
beene
For a fairer Virgin Queene.
Whose burden, puzzling nature's
eye
Made a new brightnesse shine
in skye,

To guide three wife men rapt
in sense,
With gold, with mirrhe, with
frankomense,
From their starre-gazing Ea-
sterne stage
To Bethlem in holy pilgri-
mage.
When round about poore filly
fwaynes
Grazing their sheepe on neigh-
bour plaines,
God's glory first by night did
show,
And from an Angell let them
know
Tidings of ioy to all mankind,
Which they in David's towne
should finde.
A swadling childe amongst
beastes stor'd,
A Saviour which is Christ the
Lord,
Borne King of Iewes and Gen-
tiles all ;
Who in full time vnited shall
Humbly vnto him bend, and
praise,
His triumphe with eternall
layes.

Of many proofes which make
 beliefe
In Chrifto borne, this one is
 chiefe :
The Iewes who fcornd his lowly
 birth,
Are fattered ouer all the
 earth,
In falfe Chrifto oft bee¹ thousands
 loft,
From on[e] land to another toft.
Their Priests, Scribes, all Ie-
 rufalem,
Which troubled were at birth
 of him,
Have loft their Tribes, their
 Temple, State,
A people, outcaft, runnagate.
Now for one thousand thirtie
 one
And full fix hundred yeares
 vndone.
Bleft infant, fared Deitie
So fhrouded in humanitie,
Preferue this new yeare to my
 friends,
From thoughts ill ravelld into
 ends.

. ¹ From MS. for 'by.'

Vouchsafe mee and my slender
rimes,
Not fawning on these faining
times.
Then shall I on thine Altar
lay
In Anthems of Ascending day,
As erst I have at Easter done,
Thy Threnothriambeuticon.

A HYMNE ON CHRIST'S ASCENSION.

To thy passion and thy birth
Blest Lord, I have two anthems
sung ;
Once more to sing in holy mirth
Thy ascending glory loose my
tongue,
That I with wonder and with
praise,
May set forth all thy holie daies.

Borne lowly, then on shamefull
Crosse
By Jewes and Romans iudgd
to dye,
In birth or death not any losse
Impeacht thy immortalitye.

Like Phebus after cloudes of
 raine,
Thy God-head luftred forth a-
 gaine.

Ascending, thou to men didst
 giue,
To meaneft men fuch guifts of
 grace,
As whether they did dye or liue,
They forc't all hearts in higheft
 place,
To prostrate fcepter, fword
 and crowne
With worship to thy chiefe re-
 nowne.

Poore fifhermen of lakes, that
 were
Unapt to fway with cloquence;
That knew not how to menace
 fpeare,
Or blandifh words that ravifh
 fenfe;
Even thefe poore Heralds' voyce
 did tame
And winne all nations to thy
 name.

When I am lifted up, faith he
In holy Gospell of Saint John,
Then all men will I draw to me ;
That is, to his confession.
To heauen from cratch and
 croffe he went,
With men and angells merri-
 ment.

Triumphant lord, no tongue, no
 thought,
Can reach the wonder of thy
 wayes,
But we must say, as Paul hath
 taught,
Vnto thy everlasting praise,
The mysterie of godlinesse
Is such as no tongue can ex-
 presse.

God in the flesh made manifest,
In the spirit iustified ;
Seene of the angells, euer blest,
To the Gentiles verified ;
Believed on in the world his story,
Was vp received into glory.

FINIS.

VIII.

LATIN POEMS: WITH ADDITIONS
FROM BODLEIAN MSS.

L L

NOTE.

Nos. XXI. to XXIV. are taken from the printed sources noted in the places. The remainder are from MS. No. 13, of which three only were printed by the late REV. THOMAS CORSEY, in Introduction to his edition of the *Iter Lancastrense*, as before. False quantities occur in XVII. l. 22 ('bilis'), and on XVIII. l. 9 ('per-tudit'). See also XIX. l. 9.—G.



I.

To Dr Sebastian Benfield : De Daveidis instrumentis
psalmodicis.



ANCTE Deus quo te celebrem modulamine ?
ritus

Jampridem ignorant secula prisca tuos.

Instrumenta illis pereunt, vix nôia nobis

Quid Minnim. Gnuggab. Zabrale cū Nablo ?

Non bombos sonitus, neque tantarantia poscis,

Sed laudes cordis fletib. irrigui.

Mores non incrustati, simplexque voluntas

Sunt Minnim, Gnuggab, cætera quæque tibi.

(From MS. N^o. 13, p. 1 : noia = nomina : fletib. =
fletibus.)

II.

An si quis in quem bona condiderit carmina in
 eum fit ius iudiciumque. neg.
 Non est sic Venuſine doces neſcire libet quid
 Quis de rubrica Bartholo-Baldus ait
 In prætextatos mores regumque tumultus
 Stringat ſublimes vena benigna modos
 Dic age Dic numero ſublîmi Maxime legum
 Eſt tibi non paucis purpura cum maculis.
 (From James MS. N^o. 13, p. 7.)

III.

He notices the ſevere ſtriçtures of ſome of the Fathers—
 Tertullian, Chryſoſtom, Cyprian—on the ſtage, and ſhows
 that theſe were juſt as applied to the indecencies then
 tolerated, but adds, that if theſe Fathers were now living
 they would willingly attend the representation of Ben
 Jonſon's plays. Theſe lines then follow :—

Ede tuos tandem populò Jonſone libellos
 Et cultum docto pectore profer opus
 Quod nee Cecropiæ damnent Pandionis artes
 Nec fileant noſtri prætereantque ſenes
 Ante fores ſtantem dubitas admittere famam
 Teque piget famæ præmia ferre tuæ
 Poſt te victuræ per te quoque vivere chartæ
 Incipiant, cineri gloria ſera venit.
 (*Ibid.* p. 25.)

IV.

An aurum fiat potabile. Aff.

Quid non docta potest vatum solertia, non vos
Non vestras medici posco manus Arabes
Illa aurum argentumque etiam pluteosque librosque
Diluere infuso est ingeniosa mero.

(*Ibid.* p. 87.)

V.

In mortem optimi Avunculi Doctoris
Edoardi James, nepotis carmen funebre.

Visceribus fecere tuis quid saxa petrarum?
Conveniens crustis non fuit iste locus
Durū equidem genus est hominū et crudele, quibusq;
Cepit saxorum fabula prisca fidem
Hic capite hospitium lapides, tententur acutè
Horum hominū saxis ilia dura magis,
Has, licet, in fedes, pulchro migrate coloni
Ordine; quis fatum hoc vidit et erubuit?
Hic rupices crustas, vivoq; sedilia saxo
Absq; omni tutum est extruere invidia.
Verum non vestra patruus ab origine crevit
Effet in affini ut corpore juris idem.
Illi mens humana et carne induta, nec unquam
In lapidem excoxit fervida avaritia

Aut misera ambitio, aut vindictæ dira libido
Impiger aut maribus qui furor ardet equis.
Udum et molle lutum, atq; Deū testante figura
Vixit inequales difficīlesq; dies.
O quam multa Dei sanctis fulgebat imago
Moribus et viva pectoris effigie :
Egestos nudosq; lares spectare benignè,
Et bona pauperibus spargere moris erat
More probo et quali veterū vixere parentes
Felices vetuit quos pia fama mori.
Mortalis præfensq; Deus mihi quæritur, author
Quippe mihi vitæ non pereuntis erat
Communis generi vindex, ego funere in isto
Intus iusta patri rursus ago lacrymis.
Si vultus similes rides in pectore gestus
Amiſſas rursus defleo nudus opes
Quod veris querimur lacrymis, et define carmen
Ut doleam tacito depereamq; finu.
Livor pinget diem nigro carbone vel horam
Qua vixit foli providus ille sibi
Ergo fidereus jam vivit maior imago.
Hæc mercede placent vel tua fæxa mihi.

(*Ibid.* pp. 130, 131.)

VI.

In mortem Thomæ Andrewes M^{ri} Artium,
cum quo vna electus fui in
societatem C·C·C·

Quæ busto huic pietas debetur funeris ? eia
Ad tumulum solito more decenter eat.
Ocius et frondes herbarumque inspergite honorem
Multa ἑτερο-μύκης fœmina cum gemitu
Accedat cippique deinde inscriptio, terræ
Post onus egestum compositumque caput.
Securi ut vermes saturentur : corporis vsum
Defectorem animi, tanto dignamur honore.
(*Ibid.* pp. 138-9.)

VII.

On pp. 182, 183, 184 of MS. N°. 13, he has some reflections during a sleepless night, on the subject "cur nos rubricapites adeo in opprobrium quasi objiciamur?" and quotes Martial (xii. 54).

"Crine ruber, niger ore, brevis pede, lumine luscus,
Rem magnam præstas Zoile si bonus es"—

Thus rendered by himself, "somnia et lucis ambiguus."

Squint, red-pate, black-mouth, stumpe foot under
If Zoilus be good he does a wonder ;

And thinks that this may have been ignorantly applied to
men of the northern nations without any reason.

VIII.

Ad Mr. Thomam Jacksonum,
qui in Festa die Strenarū mihi dono miserit Bibulum.

Arripe quod subiti fervor dictavit amoris
Accedens proprijs, carminis et pedibus
Vt non fallaci voveat, sed auspice lingua
Te retro vt versis sospitet annus equis.
Ille tuam curet semper repletq; salutem
Cui noua nascenti hæc tempora sacra damus
Ille novum quondam qui laudibus extulit annum
Σοί τε νέον δεκτὸν νῦν ἐνιαυτὸν ἄγγη
Atq; salute nova tutum te proluat ille
Cuius sacra tuo munere strena mea est.
Lætare auspicio, facer hæc sunt impetus, et non
Attoniti veniunt carmina fontis opus.
Nulla pœne mora strenarum numine plenus
Hæc citus adscripsi, felixq; i. pagina dixi. (From
Nº. 27 in MS., also in MS. 13, p. 210.)

IX.

Ad amicum suum Robertum Tailerum qui nobis miserit
picturam Roberti hominis turpissimi.

Idolum idoli tabulâ hæc Tailere dedisti
Tantum etenim idolum est ipse et imago hominis
Ingenium aut laudo, nullo ex doctore venustum
Cedat Parrasii cui labor atque Scopæ

Vivi equidem claves humerosque et lintea cerno
Menti dimidium est vulsæque barba subest.
Aspicit intrantes tam rectè et prætereuntes
Pileum et tam simili pinxit arte suum.
Oh! si animi fraudes fordesque effingere possis
Turpior in terris nulla tabella foret.

(*Ibid.* p. 217.)

X.

In Delphinum¹ insigne
Jamefianorum Vectensium.

Adversæ quamvis lacerum fecere procellæ
Et maris imperio concutiente feror
Demersæ ex plebis numero Delphinus in auras
Me levat et freta per fervida scindit iter.
Non ventosa adeo est gens nostra ut imagine macrâ
Delphini et picta se efferat effigie
Dicit amatores hominum nos piscis, in isto
Omne nec syrtes nec fera saxa queror
Qua te, purus amor, venerer pietate, tot inter
Æstus qui fractam non finis esse ratem
Misceat atq; novos moveat vesana tumultus
Religio; cælum non ruit, huic fidei.

¹ This is in allusion to the arms borne by the family of James, which were Vert, a dolphin, naiant.

Hæc subitus scripsi in libro stemmatū
 Isaaci Maſſæ legati ad Moſcos pro
 Illuſtriſſimis ordinibus Belgiæ in
 urbe Vraſlaviæ An. Dom. 1618.

(*Ibid.* p. 238.)

XI.

Sacrum memoriæ ſtrenui militis et ducis Thomæ Euſtace
 Ibernici occiſi a Polonis dum aſſereret portas
 et urbem Moſcuæ An. Dn. 1618.

Excluſus moritur deſenſæ in nomine gentis
 Ruſſorum portas Sarmata ne caperet
 Bellum nunc bellum atque virum cantabit Ierna
 Vix Priamus tanti totaque Troia fuit
 Theodor Moſcua.

(*Ibid.* p. 238.)

XII.

De Cometa quæ apparuit iuxta urſam
 maiorem Ann. Dn. 1618. per ſpatium menſis
 in Decembri et Novembri, quam vidimus
 in Varſlavia Ruthenorum.

Tunc cum Sarmatici cœperunt fœdera pacis
 Fruſtrati Gallo milite ne caperent

Vix, Michaelē, tibi steterint quæ moenia, fallax
In quibus haud tantum mobile vulgus erat.
Emicuit septem inter circumgestata triones
Promittens longam dira cometa facem,
Nos quod portentum flammæ quæſivimus acri
Suspicionē omnes, quisq;:, sibi metuens.
Anglis ipse timens, ne forsitan invidiosa
Si foret occasu, magne Jacobē, tuo
Extimui et ne religio vesana furensq;
Armaret Batavos in sua fata duces.
Aut minor est forsā mundi iactura rubentis
Germani hoc fidus Cæsaris esse potest.
Plebeio at nunquam coalescit sanguine regni
Jus dubium, regum est sanguinis istud opus.
Sarmaticosq; Ruthenosq; inter cælum interituram
Pacem quod bello miscuit inde rubet.
(*Ibid.* p. 239.)

XIII.

In quendam qui ebrius in vrbe Moscua periculū
fecerit fortitudinis in imagines camini
Amphora Russa tuas refonet quæ buccina laudes
Per quam sic nostri Martis amore viri
Exultant, stetit in furno depicta juvenus
Et sonipes quales in fera bella ruunt.
Romphæa pharetraque sclopeti et fulgure, miles
Hic multa pugnax arte decenter erat

Non tulit hoc generosa bilis, sed et arripit ensē

Et, dirum, vero se putat hoste peti.

Ivit in occurfus, belli belli oīs imago

Occidit, inque tuo pulvere fūne iaces.

s, pistillique equitem sic, sic et Iberum

Hisshotum verā vicimus historiā.¹

(*Ibid.* p. 240.)

XIV.

Hæc tibi dulcis amice damus, licet irrita, sanctē

Et nostra et vetulæ pariter suspiria rides.

Epitaphium strenui ducis

Thomæ Eustace.

Militis hic strenui ducis hic sua facta tacentis

Dum grandi exemplo vixerit, ossa silent

Non te ego sed vanæ dicam ludibria genti

Laude suâ hæc tumidus si quis ad ossa venit

Qui legis hæc, sic terra lutum, tibi fama decusque

Gloria servatæ sit licet urbis, erit.

(*Ibid.* p. 240.)

¹ The reference is to "The Knight of the Burning Pestle" by Beaumont and Fletcher, as well as to "Don Quixote." "The play appears to have been produced in 1611, for Burre in the Dedication to the first quarto, 1613, declares that he had 'fostered it privately in his bosom these two years,' and that it was the 'elder of *Don Quixote* above a year,'—meaning doubtless the translation of that work by Skelton, which was published in 1612" (Dyce, Introduction to the Play, ii. p. 125).

XV.

Ad Fratrem suum Guilielmum
Gardinerum cum ei dono
mitteret Mornæum
de Veritate
Xianæ Religionis.

Mi frater nostri mitto hunc tibi pignus amoris
Librum qui est avido plurimus ore mihi
Tertullianum da dixit sæpe Magistrum
Cuius nigra fuit sanguine dives humus
Atque ego Mornæum hunc sic posco sæpe catenam
Cum quo curarum solvere dulce fuit
Quam tribus ille tibi chartis omne explicat ævum et
Devia per certo fidere ducit iter
Nulla usquam fœcunda magis fit lectio sacr[a]
Sî cupis historiæ noscere myſteria
Quicquid habent veterum scripta et monumenta priorum
Omne tibi hoc venâ divite pandit opus.

Tuus et Janæ tuæ
frater amantissimus

R. JAMES.

[a] Vide Lactantium, lib. 1, 5 ch. historia de religione.
(*Ibid.* p. 240.)

XVI.

Crimæus Danusque Suevusq: atque Polonus
Cum peterent sceptrum terra Ruthena tuum

In cœlo vifi quatuor rutilfcere soles
Et claram inſolitâ luce notare diem
Iride ſed ſuperintenſâ, quæ fauſta tumultus
Compeſcet forſan terra Ruthena tuos
Sed ſclerum es adeo portentis dira furentes
Ut timeam ventos, fulgura, diluvium
Averſâque viros turpique libidine perdis
Hoſti qui pro te tergora colla darent
An fileam? cænæ an memorem faſtigia? caprâ
Dum meditor ventrem paſcere, paſco virum
Dat mihi Tchornitzæ aut Baioris filius infans
Ignotas caprâ de genitrice dapes
Hæc vox eſt populi, multorum eſt gloria, plures
Inceſtoſque, nefas, noſcere concubitus.
Arthuro ut Aſtono equiti cum perditus Anglo
Qui illius in curam miſſus ab urbe venit
Non de plebe hominum iactaret poſt meretricis
Septem Brutorum noſcere ſe coitus .
Non ullam metuens cenſuram nulla tiaræ
Fulmina, nec vani conſcia iura tori
Quin condat poſcatque diem ſibi lucidus æther
Ne purus caſtis ignibus aſpiciat
Hos putres geſtus morum hæc ut crimina cernas
Nonne ſatis oculos eſt habuiſſe duos
Vana loquor toties geminato lumine cœlum
Proſpicit in pœnas impia terra tuas

1619, Feb. 16. Inter Colmogrodum et Archangelum viſi
ſunt quatuor ſoles cum iride &^{ca}. (*Ibid.* p. 243.)

XVII.

In fervum nequam et ebrium.

Quas laudes numerem servi fidelis, amorem
Qui Dominum vera religione colit
Non nudo capite aut decurvo poplite, nec qui
Prono gupfatos despicit ore pedes
Sed mea cum ratio iussit qui rebus agendis
Fidus siccusque et sobrius esse potest
Dulcibus hic natis hic charâ conjuge vitam
Præferat, in votis hic mihi servus erit
Ingenio hoc quando vivam mala multa precari
Non fas criminibus pessime serve tuis
Ære meo pauper dum vivam impune licebit
Cætera divitiis computet ille suis
Non veto quin curas iugulet mihi providus, et quin
Ternis ter cyathis gaudia promoveat
Sed quare quadrupedem servum pedibusq: carentem
Et manibus faciat nigra taberna meum
Servus ni foret a risu quis temperet, illum
Bacchus dum illudit postibus et tenebris
Quos comites putat adversos, et luce sequenti
Pugnæ nescio quod grande minatur opus
Cum fervor capiti accessit, sic provocat omnes
Cambri huius insana ac irrequieta bilis

Ut nifi cum nobis mea gratia sæpe valeret
Tantum Mafforio non foret ore rudis
Auriculis oculis nafoque et fronte cutis fit
An veftis dubium laciniofa magis
Quo fato aufugit dignas epigrammate mortes
Cum Neptune tuos incidit in focios.
Horrida turba illum contis remisque cruentum
Surdi præcipitant in mare turba nequam
Effet ni de homine binis contentio fati
Vel fati ad mortem cafus uterque fuit
His ego fi indigner fic peior fabula fiet
Non uno gemitus murmure plena domus
Quid faciam huic fervo jubeo miferum effe libenter
Ne pereat curis ebrietate mori.

(*Ibid.* pp. 245, 246.)

XVIII.

In mortem Doctoris Johannis Flemminge
qui obiit ex confumptione cordis.

Quam benè cordatus Fleñingus vixerit et quam
Strenu[u]s, et verà fidus amicitia
Nos tua turba omnes de peñtore novimus atque
Norunt, qui audierant fortia verba viri

Et tamen excordis moritur, scindente chirurgo
Et subiti latebras inspiciente mali.
Nil lacrymis inhibemus iter, purgatio vmbra
Nunc tua secretam pervolet ad requiem
Res non mira omnem qui se pertudit amicis
Siccato cordis fanguine posse mori.

(*Ibid.* p. 251.)

XIX.

Cum in manus venisset casu 3^{ta} editio operis de pietate
Ludovici Bayly Bangoriensis, hæc scripsi in
Germanico quodam hospitio Londini.

Quam docta et qualis tua sit Theologia Leuze
Garrit ad incudem nigra taberna suum
Noverunt nautæ, pictores, hoc genus omne
Quisquis amat noctem Sancte Clemensque tuam
Sic tamen es vulgi notissima fabula quando
Non te vulgarem dicere quis metuit
Hæc est condicio nostræ Leuze optime vitæ
Sordet quod vulgi judicio petitur
Verum confule me, damnum sit quamvis bibliopolis
Qui te præsentis numinis instar habent.
Invidiæ auctorem commendat rarior usus
Si fiat non excussio tergemina
Nunc pietatis opus tot chartas fœtat, abundè
Et tibi Stercuti ut pagina sacra cadat.

(*Ibid.* p. 252.)

XX.

After some criticisms on the injudicious remarks often made at a death-bed by surrounding friends, he writes the following as an epicedium on the death of a relative, Tobias Eedes. (*Ibid.* p. 255.)

Non loquor exactæ vitæ suspiria, qualis
In gemitu, extremæ aut fuerint quæ infomnia mentis
Sermonum fragmenta dolor quæ et morbus fuderit aut quæ
Dictarunt ægro resonanti blanda sodales
Hæc referant alio, quibus isto in funere sanguis
Cognatus non marcescit: me tollere crura
Sandapilæ pulchro iuvat et procedere gressu
Ad tumulum, victorem humeris contollere carnem
De vita et morbis in sola morte caducis.
Nascentis solæ vetulæ mysteria noscant
Turpia, cum morimur pompam dant funera iustam.

XXI.

Ad Librum suum.

Cujus vis fieri libelle munus?
Festina tibi vindicem parare,
Ne nigri citò stigmatibus liturâ
Censuraq; gravi ambules perunctus

Damnatae soleant quo abire chartae ;
Vel fias olidâ madens tabernâ.
Seldeni fugis in finum ? sapisti.
Exhortor moneoq ; te libelle
Diserto huic placeas *Apollinari* ;
Nil exactius eruditiusq ;
Sed nec candidius benigniusq ;
Illo vindice non timebis atros
Dentes, livida vel *Theonis* ora,
Quæ ferrugine tincta ; non cachinnos
Non ronchos hominum maligniorum ;
Hæc expertus ego libelle dico.
Pro me (ne metuas) jube salutem,
Quam portâ accipiet bonus patente.
Si quærit quid agam, studere dices
Post præludia velitis papyri,
Vt majori operâ placere possim.

(Prefixed to "Ante-Possevinus," &c., 1625.
See our Introduction.)

XXII.

Viri Clarissimi Rob. Cottoni ab antiquâ
Regum profapia oriundi Epicedium.

QVALIS HOMERUS erat, de cujus fonte furores
Sacros hauserunt veteresque novique Poetæ.
Talis eras nostros inter COTTONE BRITANNOS
Rerum explorator veterum. Civilia jura

Regni, Magnatum molimina, munia Regum
Et populi, nexus faustos, divortia sæva,
Navigia et merces, castra, artes, religiones,
Nummos, structuras, chartas, solemnia verba,
Et quicquid bello faceret vel pace triumphos
Callebat dextrè nemo magis. Omnis ab illo
Et tua CAMDENE & SELDENI gloria crevit,
SELDENI tam iustitiâ quàm jure periti.
Ingentes dominos titulorum dote superbos
Famososq; Equites, simul omnes si periissent,
Quivis Rex Orbi potis est renovare, beatum
COTTONI pectus nullâ est reparabile cerâ.
Ingenio quicumq; vigent tua tecta frequenter
Visebant tanquam à Phœbo responsa petentes.
Nunc Oracla silent. Sed non schediastmate tantæ
Oceanum laudis liceat superare, misellum
Nescio quid gaudens ad amici iusta litasse,
Omnia complectar celebrat WIGORNIA verbis
Queis NECKAMI obitum, crescitq; in carmine verum
“Ecclipsim patitur sapientia, sol sepelitur.
“Cui si par vnus minus esset flebile funus.”

(From end of “Epistola Thomæ Mori ad Academ,”
&c. 1633. See our Introduction.)

XXIII.

De Pŕteo Sancti Edwardi in Aedibus
COTTONIANIS sub ejus obitum
exarefcente.

* * *

EXceffit COTTONE tuus cùm spiritus aurâ
Cœlorum gaudens liberiore frui,
Arefcit fons ille fâcer de nomine dictus
Regis qui ANGLORUM IUSTINIANUS erat.
Quæ vivo tibi non vnquam defecit in vŕfus,
Cùm moreris latices ŕubtrahit vnda ŕuos.
Sit LETHERHEADE tuus gurgēs non fabula vulgi.
Sitq, BRERETONIA certa palude fides.
Sint Regum auguŕtæ mortes rutilante cometâ,
Vt decoret mortem Regia lympha tuam.
Res memoranda magis tamen eŕt Annalibus, omnis
ANGLIA quòd pro te non fluat in lachrymas,
Pro VARRONE ŕuo, pro BRITONE CYNOBELINO,
Qui illam tanquam vngues noverat & digitos.
Quæ Reges, quæ Barones non parturit ætas ?
Sed tibi vix dederint ŕæcula cuncta parem.

(*Ibid.*)

XXIV.

Epicedivm Magiŕtri Thomæ Alleni
de Aula Glouceŕtrenŕi.

ACŕdim quod Dæmonicos ŕonat, ignorantes
Chaldæos ducunt cæleŕtia pectora, primi

Qui radio in certas traxerunt sidera leges,
Chaldæi vocis Cheledh ab origine purâ
Dicendi magis egregiè, quâ voce notari
Camporum aut similis facies diffusa per amnes
Aut mensurandi ratio Geometrica possit.
CHALDÆIS quod divine senex tibi contigit, alta
Cœlorum secreta tibi cognoscere curæ
Cum fuerat, plebi fallaxq; magusq; videris,
Sed plebi indoctæ, quam si vel baltheus ambit
Vel toga, tu spernens semper, virtute quietâ
Compositus semperq; tuus; non degener arte
Principibus placuisse viris. Nec juncta mathesi
Fama minor, veterum quâ scripta & gesta revolvens
Eruis in lucem. Sic cum te fata vocarent,
Supra hyemes vitæ post nonaginta peractas
Mortem non metuens optansve ad sidera migras.

(*Ibid.*)

IX.

REASONS CONCERNING THE
ATTEMPTS ON THE LIVES
OF GREAT PERSONAGES.

NOTE.

This remarkable Letter (on which see our Introduction) is No. 34 of the Bodleian MSS. The late Mr. Corser quoted from it considerably, but with puzzling and again uncharacteristic incorrectness. I have given the Latin quotations from less-known writers *in extenso*; but long ones from Cicero, St. Augustine, Tertullian, and others readily accessible, I merely quote the commencements of, with references to their Works. The following contractions may here be noted :—

q_i = que.
s^{et} = scilicet (once).
.n., better 'n' = enim.
& = et.
v^{et} = videlicet (once).
y^e, y^t = the, that.
s^r = fir.
oēs = omnes (once).
hoīes = homines (once).
ū, ú = um.

Also ij is constantly written where we should print ii or ji.

ä usually has the accent or curved mark above it when it is a separate word.

u where we use v, and vice versa, is common.

æ James always wrote, both for æ and œ.—G.



IR, if you please to learne my minde concerning attempts on y^e lives of great personages, I shall easily say you manie reasons why this cannot be donne with pietie and religion.

First, because in storie such actions are hatefull under the name of assasination, the originall of which vntill we be more cleerely enformed from the late excellent Syrian and Arabic collection of Golius, is by Iacobus de Vitriaco thus sett downe in his brief of the Jerusalem historie—' In provincia autem Phœnicis, circa fines civitatis Anteradenſis, quæ hodie vulgariter appellatur Tortoſa, quidam populus ſcopulis et montibus vndiq; circumcluſus inhabitat, habens caſtella decem fortiſſima, et propter viarum anguſtias et rupes inacceſſibiles inexpugnabilior, cum ſubvrbaniſ, et vallis omnium fruſtuum et frugum fertilitate ſæcundiffimis, et amœnitate jucundis. Horum autem hominum, qui Aſſaſini nuncupantur, quadraginta millium numerum excedere dicitur multitudo. Præficiunt autem ſibi Capitaneum non ſucceſſione hæreditariâ, ſed meritorum prærogativa, quem ipſi Veterem ſeu Senem appellant, non tam proſpectæ ætatiſ ratione, quàm prudentiæ et dignitatiſ præminentia. Primus

autem et summus infaustæ religionis eorum Abbas, et locus, vnde principium habuerunt, et à quo Syriam venerunt, in partibus est Orientalibus valdè remotis versus civitatem Baldacensem, et partes Perfidis provinciæ. Hi autem vngulam non findentes, neq; sacrum à prophano discernentes, omnem indifferenter obedientiam superiori suo exhibitam, sibi credunt esse vitæ æternæ meritoriam. Vnde tanto subjectionis et obedientiæ vinculo magistro suo, ¹obliguntur quem Senem nominant astringuntur, quòd nil ita periculosum est et difficile, quod ad mandatum domini sui hilari animo et ardenti voluntate amplecti et perficere vereantur. Senex autem dominus eorum, pueros de populo illo in locis secretis et delectabilibus facit nutrir, et diversis idiomatum generibus diligenter imbutos et instructos ad varias provincias mittit cum cultellis et potentes homines tam ex Christianis quàm ex Saracenis, vel quia ex aliqua causa habet eos odio, vel ad preces amicorum suorum, seu etiam propter immensæ pecuniæ pretium sibi datum mandat occidi; promittens propter hujus mandati executionem longè majores delicias habituros sine fine in paradiso post mortem, quàm sint illæ in quibus fuerunt enutriti. Quòd si propter hujusmodi obedientiam eos mori contigerit, martyres à suis judicantur, et inter sanctos ab illo populo deputati in summa habentur reverentia. Parentes autem eorum à magistro, qui Senex dicitur, multis muneribus ditati, si servi fuerant, de cætero liberi dimittuntur. Vnde miseri et seducti adolescentes de conventu prædictorum fratrum ad varias partes mundi trans-

¹ 'Obliguntur' is in the MS. erased.

missas cum tanto gaudio et desiderio legationem mortiferam suscipiunt, cum tanta diligentia et sollicitudine perficiunt, sese varijs modis transfigurantes, et aliarum nationum ritus et habitum sibi assumentes, aliquando in specie mercatorum, quandoq; in specie Clericorum seu Monachorum, et infinitis alijs modis sese occultantes, quòd vix aliquis in vniverſo mundo adeo cantus est, qui sibi possit ab eorum insidijs præcavere. Contra inferiores personas aliquid machinari dedignantur. Potentes autem, quibus ipsi adversantur, vel pretio magno se redimunt, vel armati incedentes cum caterva satellitū, cum suspicione et metu mortis semper incedunt.’

Secondly, because this doctrine of assassination is abominable unto y^e reformed Churches and other more moderate Catholiques in the practise and assertions of y^e Jesuites, against whome manie excellent writings are extant, and amongst them to my esteeme that one most memorable brief treatise called y^e Franc Discourse.

Thirdly, because the doctrine and practise of y^e primitive Christians is heerein fully opposite, as maye appeere from theis places of Tertullian in his book to Scapula Governour of Carthage, and his Apologie against the Gentiles. ‘Nos quidem’ &c.¹

Fourthly, because such violent attempts seldomme or never procure amendment, as we may see in the Roman

¹ From Ad Scapulam Liber, cap. 1. He also quotes from cap. 2. “Circa Majestatem imperatoris . . . et salvum velit,” &c., and “Et utiq; ex disciplina . . . modestia agimus;” also from his Apologeticus, cap. 37, “Externi sumus et . . . quam occidere;” and cap. 36, “Male velle, male facere . . . per deum tantus est.”

empire: How often did they with Lucan seeke Libertie in the ruine of their princes, and yet were at last forced to the wonder of Tacitus, through despaire rather to fall on themselves. Neither will any man thincke that the privie bullets which strooke the Prince of Orange twice, gained yeither grownd or glorie to the Spanish Nation. Of which acte Grotius writes and concludes an heroique poeme in this high rapture and disdaigne.

Evenere Tagi nunquam caritura pudore
Crimina, quis nondum reperere vocabula linguæ,
&c. &c.¹

Cicero was a man inferiour to none in civill vertue whilest he livd, and so with incomparable courage and wisdomme in his consullshippe dispersed and defeated the impious conspiracie of Catuline; for which service he bore deservedly the Title of *pater patriæ*, yet in Brutus he apprehended *αποκρίνω*, something an unfociable nature; and for this fourth reason, as it seemes, least the exemple might proove dangerous to better times, he would not by any meanes in his privacie attempt on Julius Cæsar. Of whome and Pompey, Catullus said truly *focer generq; perdidisti omnia*. Wherefore his second Philippic though otherwise according to the season, various of censure, hath a replie vnto M. Antonie after this manner—*Tu verò ascribe me, &c. &c.*² What that sentence of Cicero was, himself

¹ From Hug. Grotii Poemata, Silvæ, Lib. i., Genealogia Nassavorum, ad finem.

² From Cicero, Philipp. 2, ch. 13, § 33: ch. 14, § 34: also ch. 15, § 37-38, "Fateor . . . in hac vrbe mansisses," &c.

hath before exprest in his first Philippic in theis words ‘Nec à rep. deijebam oculos’ &c. &c.¹ And assuredly this civill oblivion is worthy the consultation of all true patriotes, and to it the Scripture addes *Beati pacifici*.

Fifthly, for manie speciall reasons concerning the discretion of attempting men, which are gathered together somewhere in Michaell Mountaines essayes, of which in absēce of my book I have not now any perfect remembrance, but he that pleases maye at better leasure retrieve them in their proper place, and so receive more satisfaction. See also Thom. Aquinas, cap. vi. de regimine principum.

Sixthly, because, as Saint James saith, the wrath of man worketh not that which is righteous before God. We ought to staye and abide his divine pleasure. In the next world potentes potenter tormenta patientur. And in this, if we rightly esteeme the matter, overruling tyrannous statists goe not free of punishment internally, externally, as Langius hath most effectually conceivd in the second booke of Lipsius his Constancie. Audi, saith he, Romanum illum lamentantem. *Dij me Deæq; pejus perdant, quàm perire cottidiè sentio. Audi alterum ingemiscentem. Ergo ego solus nec amicum habeo nec inimicum? Hæc vera illa animorum tormenta, Lipsi, hi cruciatus, angi semper, pænitere, metuere; quibus cave compares eculeos vltos, fidiculas, vncos.—Adde externas pænas. quæ tamen si desint cùm priores illæ irrogentur, quis cælestem justitiam justè culpet? At non desunt. Nec factum unquam (certè*

¹ Philip. 1, ch. p. 1, § 1.

rarò) quin àpertè scelesti et aliorum oppressores, pœnas item luerint spectabiles et apertas; alij citiùs, alij ferius: alij in se, alij in suis.—Video Catoni ipsi clavum hìc tantum recti iudicij non extortum, et elicitam ab alto pectore ambiquam vocem, Res Divinas multum habere caliginis. Sed tamen tu Lipi, tu Cato, flectile paullum huc oculos: vnus ad-spectus in gratiam vos reducet cum Deo. Cæsarem illum videte, superbum, victorem, opinione sua et aliorum iam Deum, in senatu, et à senatu interfectum. nec simplici morte, sed viginti tribus plagis confectum, instar feræ in sanguine suo volutantem. Et quid ampliùs vultis? in Pompeij curia, superstante Pompeij statua, magnam victi-mam Magni manibus parentantem. Ita Brutus in campis Philippicis, pro patria, et cum patria moriens, mihi quoq, miserationi est. sed confolor idem, cum haut longè video victores illos exercitus, velut ad ejus tumulum, gladiatorio more inter se commissos: et è ducibus alterum, M. Antoniù, terrâ mariq, victum, inter tres mulierculas, mulierosâ illa manu, ægrè mortem invenientem. Vbi tu es Orientis illa paullò ante dominus? lanista Romanorum exercituum? Pompeij et reip. sector? Eni, in fune cruentis manibus pendes! en, vivus in monumentum tuum repis! en ne moriens quidem avelleris ab ea quæ tibi morti! Vide an vanè vocem supremam et votum illud efflaverit Brutus iam moriens. *Ζεῦ μὴ λάθοι σε τῶν δ' ὁς αἴτιος κακῶν.* Non .n. latuit profectò, non effugit. non item ille alter Dux, qui pœnam juveniliū scelerum non obscurè in se luit, et clariùs in omni sua stirpe. Sit felix et magnus Cæsar, et verè Augustus: sed filiam tamen Juliam habeat, sed neptem.

nepotes alios per fraudem per vim amittat, alios abdicet. et horum tædio, quadriduana inedia mori velit, nec possit. Deniq, cum Livia sua vivat, fædè ductâ, fædè retenta : et quam turpi amore ipse perijt, turpi morte per eam pereat. In summâ, inquit Plinius, Deus ille hærede hostis sui filio excedat Vigilat semper divinus ille oculus : et cùm dormire eum censes, connivet. It hath seemd good to Lipsius to make Augustus Cæsar a monument of God's revendge on Tyrannie, and I shall thincke it fitt to give one more instance in the same Emperours loose delicious favorite Mecænas. When his Master was once toucht with remorse of vsurpinge on the Roman statly freedomme, and by Agrippa his powerfull remonstrance allmost perswaded to resigne his Tyrannie, the loose vngirt Epicure Mecænas held him back with flattering glose of Rhethorique, and for à reward was forc't to see and suffer the prostitution of his faire Terentia, tortured with courte buifinesse and diseases could not enjoye life, and yet abhord the thought of death as a passidge to greater miserie. Whence Seneca in divers places records thus of him, Ingeniosus vir, &c. &c. &c.¹

For theis reasons and many more, personages of State though they deserve ill, may not be violated mortally out of any man's religion and pietie. Yet that which is historically true, maye not be by a true man conceald. Manie nations haue doctrines to preserve them, manie nations are superstitious in adoration of their persons. Yet in all

¹ Epistola 19, and Seneca Lib. de Providentiâ, cap. 3 and Epist. 101—put together as if one passage.

nations and ages, manie of them will still miscarrie, if they be not zealous of justice, not extreme justice, but justice with mercie, as it is in the Royal Oath of our English princes, and justice according vnto reason and custome. To such justice long since the ould Hesiod invited the princes of his owne time in this long but most memorable diversion.

Sed nunc fabulum à brutis desumptam Regibus
narrabo quamvis ratione præditis.
Sic accipiter affatus est lusciniam canoram
Altè in nubibus ferens anguibus correptam :
Illa vero miserè, &c. &c. &c.¹

To this brief exhortation of Hesiod, I wish princes and great persons, by whose hands justice ought to be administered, would joine in à serious perusall. Many other excellent writings of Civill experienced men, such as are Isocrates that long-livd peace-entertaining Orator, whose fought the vnitie of the Grecians against the barbarous Asian Tyrant through the whole space of his life. Dion Chrysostome in his *Orationes de regno*, Synesius the Noble Bishop of Cyrene on the same subject, the good Trajan's excellent Tutor in his treatise *ad principem ineruditum*, and the books of our learned Chancellor Fortescue *De² laudibus legum sive Regum Angliæ* and *De Regimine politico legali*. The Roman Emperors after Julius Cæsar were

¹ Latin translation of Hesiod, *Opera et Dies*, vv. 200-278.

² At first James wrote *in* laudibus, then wrote *de* over the word *in*.

for the moſte parte voluntarie men, ſtudijng rather their owne will and pleaſure then any waies and counſells of legall juſtice; and what varietie of cruell deathes and calamities ſurprizd them is by Symphorianus Champerius, an auncient learned Frenchman collected to the aſtoniſhment of all readers. Even in the times of Chriſtianitie vnder that ſucceſſion, all things were ſo voluntarie and tumultuous as tis the maine Apologie of Chryſoſtome why ſuch great numbers of monaſtick men retired themſelves from civill affaires into the better and more eaſie converſation of deſert woods and wilde beaſtes. And therefore Saint Jerom alſo in his epitaph of Nepotian, cries out *Horret animus temporum noſtrorum ruinas perſequis*: Their princes ſuffered all manner of vnfortunate deaths, and their Nobles fell often, becauſe they did their owne rapines, their owne ambitions, their owne furies and not the gentle workes of juſtice. In thoſe and the good conſcience of them, the good Antoninus bore his owne ſecuritie and reenforced the gard of that, not by revendge, but clemencie. *Nàm cùm fortè Avidius Craſſus ſaith Crinitus in contemplation of that princelye heroique magnanimitie, alijque complures contra Antoninum Imperatorem conſpiraffent, ac detecta conjuratio eſſet, parcendum omnibus cenſuit Antoninus, nec Avidium quidem imperandì avidiſſimum juffit occidi ſed paſſus eſt. Cùmq; tàm egregiam ſingularemq; eius clementiam ac lenitatem plures accuſarent, eundemq; (vt ſunt varia hominum ingenia) paſſim arguerent, quòd tàm mitis etiam in ſuos hoſtes foret: ſimulq; adderent, Aliter ſeres haberet, ſi Avidius viciffet, graviſſimè reſponſum eſt ab*

Imperatore Antonino : Non sic deos colimus, aut vivimus, ut ille nos vinceret. and as Antonius so before him liv'd Trajan, with exemple to all posteritie moste worthye of emulation. So little feare he had of being secretly or openly violated, as he even sufferd those whoe had assailed the Tyrannie of his predecessors to be honoured with statues. So Plinie in his panegyrick, which for this reason and to sett forth most illustriously the causes of that prince's securitie, I will heere in parte defloure — jam non delatores, faith he, fed leges, &c.¹

That theis things were truly spoken of Trajan by his worthie counsellour Plinie, the belief of all posteritie confirms, and tis à wonder vnto Bodin that princes of following times doe not make away themselves, to conceive what glorie, what honour, what immortalitie of renovne, what securitie they loose in not beinge like such a god-like prince.

The brief of all that heerein may be truly spoken by any one is, That if princes and principalities wilbe safe, they must purchase the peoples loue by iustice, providence, clemencie, goodnesse. Otherwise extreme iustice, iniustice, and injurie. Neither can good men easily brooke according

¹ Jam non, etc. from Panegyricus, ch. 36, § 2. Sors et urna, &c. ch. 36, § 4; Liberalitati, &c. *ibid.* ch. 38, § 4: Vetusti, &c. *ibid.* ch. 40, § 4: Feres Cæsar, &c. ch. 41, § 1, § 2: Non jam, &c. *ibid.* ch. 42, § 2: Salva est, &c. *ibid.* ch. 44, § 5: Amas constantiam, &c. ch. 44, § 6: boni provehuntur, &c. *ibid.* ch. 46, § 8: domus amoris, &c. ch. 49, § 2: Præterea hoc, &c. *ibid.* ch. 52, § 2, § 3, and § 5, and ch. 55, § 6, as if one passage: perita Cæsar, &c. ch. 62, § 9: Nihil amplius, &c. *ibid.* ch. 65, § 1—§ 2: Tibi salus, &c. *ibid.* ch. 67, § 6: Nihil tibi, &c. ch. 72, § 3, § 4.

to Hesiod, and evill men will not, hurried on to mischief by their owne rapine and ambition, for which they will finde out faire colourable pretences. If the first stirre they doe it with sorrowe, cryinge out, not of will but necessitie. Qui fita pecora il lupo lo mangia, if we will not be toren to peeces by the wolves, wee must not be altogether sheeplish. If the others succede in their malice, neighbour people will say with Petrarch, Quo turpior manus eo melior vindicta. Wherefore I saye with Dion Chrysostome; Theis things have binne, and wilbee ever true, etiamsi o[mn]es ho[mi]n[es], tam viri quam foeminae, tam Graeci quam Barbari, contrariū affirmarint. A larger subject of discourse a man can hardly vndertake then this concerning the punctualities of government and obedience, yet I shall not hazard my discretion in saying much more; but will end with one onely memoriall, which I may seeme to have forgott in my third reason from the exemple of the primitive Xtians. They indeede were altogether men of evangelicall sufferance, but in after ages when government was changeable, sometimes in the hands of Xtians, sometimes againe recovered by the Gentiles, they did not faile on yeither side to doe mutuall violence, which in them bothe is by the Emperour Julian in an epistle of his to the people of Alexandria thus reprehended. Si nihil vos Alexander conditor, ac potius Deus ille magnus sanctissimus Sarapis commovet, attamen patriæ, humanitatis, officij ratio nonne debuit ac potuit commovere? addo etiam nostri: quos cū Dii omnes tū verò inprimis magnus Serapis, totius Orbis imperio præfecerunt: quorum intererat de

injuria vobis facta cognoscere. Verum iracundia vos fortasse decepit, et furor qui atrocissima quæq; solet committere, vbi mentem domicilio exturbavit, deinde repentino impetu elatus nefarium facinus induxit: Neq; veriti estis, cum plebs essetis, eadem committere quæ in illis merito reprehendebatis.—Ansus est populus ut canes hominem discerpere, neq; pudore afficitur: neq; manus puras ac sanguine vacuas servat, ad deo offrendum. At .n. dignus erat Georgius qui talia pateretur. Fateor; et qui propter vos pateretur; sed non a vobis. Sunt .n. leges, quas observare omnes et colere debebatis: ac si privatim à nonnullis violarentur, publicè quidem rem bene administrari, legibus obtemperari, instituta majorum sancta et sacra haberi conveniebat.



NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

· VI.

POEMS and Translations, &c.—Page 204, l. 2, ‘relent’—by r. g. but = melt, dissolve: l. 21, ‘table’—qu. = panel? l. 24, ‘ficture’ = clay-work or reliefs (fictor): p. 205, l. 5, ‘Enchiridiall’ = manual: p. 206, l. 3, ‘terrers’ = rolls (Law term): l. 18, ‘Epicure’ = Epicurus: p. 207, l. 18, ‘shend’ = abuse, mar, &c.: p. 210, l. 8, ‘vilde’ = vile, wicked: l. 16, ‘partes a figg’—as we say, ‘makes two bites of a cherry:’ p. 213, l. 22, ‘bends’—sic—qu. bands or locks (of hair)? p. 214, ‘red-haired man; y^e colour doth not shame,’ &c. See Appendix to Introduction, on James’s own ‘red hair’: p. 215, l. 21, ‘Norrice,’ &c.—all well-known hero-worthies of England: l. 217, ‘restie’ = restive: p. 218, l. 10, ‘wood’ = wud, mad: p. 220, ‘M^r. I. S.’—probably Selden: p. 223, ‘Vnthanghs’ = un-hangs, unties? p. 225, ‘Malepard’ = pard: p. 233, l. 15, ‘japes’ = jests: p. 235, ‘Posidippus

on *Humane Life*'—Cf. the verse translation by Bacon in Poems of Lord Bacon (Fuller Worthies' Library): p. 240, 'A Funerall,' &c.: l. 7, 'rathe' = early: p. 241, l. 5, 'teeme' = esteem: p. 242, l. 9, 'speake' = speed r.g.

VIII.

Latin Poems, &c.—The following are the only names that seem to require annotation—others are obscure, and probably were friends of James met with abroad. Again I draw upon Mr. Corser, as before:—

I. DR. SEBASTIAN BENFIELD.—Sebastian Benfield was born at Prestbury, in Gloucestershire; admitted scholar of C. C. C. Oxford, 30th of August, 1586, at the age of seventeen, and Probationer Fellow, 16th of April, 1590. He entered into holy orders, and in 1608 became B.D. and D.D., and five years afterwards was elected Margaret Professor of Divinity. This office he held for fourteen years, and on resigning it took the College living of Meysey Hampton, near Fairford, in Gloucestershire; and dying there August 24th, 1630, was buried in the chancel of that church on the 29th. "He was noted as a classic, disputant, and theologist, and so well read in the fathers and schoolmen, that he had scarce his equal in the University." Wood says that he was morose, and of no good nature; also, that he was accounted no mean lover of the opinions of John Calvin. He published several works, and volumes of sermons.—Wood's "Ath. Oxon." vol. ii. p. 487.—(*Ibid.* p. lxvii.) His commentary on "Amos" (unfinished) is still a *quick* book. Any adverse opinion ex-

pressed by Anthony a-Wood must always be taken, not with a grain, but a bushel of allowance of salt.

V. EDWARD JAMES.—This was the fourth son of Richard James and Jane Annernon his wife. He was born in 1570, educated at Westminster School, and elected from thence to Christ Church, Oxford, as Student, in 1587, having matriculated December 15th, 1587, as "*Hamptonensis pleb. filius.*" He proceeded to his degree of B.A. June 9th, 1591, and M.A. May 11th, 1593. And soon after entering into holy orders, on the 8th January, 1604, he was instituted to the rectory of Freshwater, in the Isle of Wight, on the presentation of Lord Chancellor Egerton, on the recommendation of Lord Baron Fleming. In 1614 he became Canon of Christ Church, and on the 16th May in that year was admitted to the degree of D.D. along with his brother Thomas. He was also an eminent scholar, and a constant contributor of verses to some of the poetical collections which members of the University were frequently accustomed to produce on occasions of public interest. Amongst others of this kind there are verses of his on "*Oxonienfis Academiæ Funebre Officium in memoriam honoratissimam serenissimæ et beatissimæ Elizabethæ*" (4^o. Oxon. 1603). He died in 1616. His will is dated January 26th, 1616, and was proved in the University Court February 4th, 1616, by the executor, Andrew James. Among other bequests he gives "all the goods and chattels at or in his parsonage of Freshwater, to his brother, Andrew James, Gent., who is to pay yearly out of the same £10 unto Richard James of Corpus Christi

College, Oxford, M.A., his nephew." From the present poem it appears that the "stone" was the complaint of which he died. (From Rev. Thomas Corser's *Introd. to "Iter Lancastrense,"* pp. xxvi-xxix; whence also the poem is taken after the Bodleian MSS.)

VIII. DR. THOMAS JACKSON.—Dr. Thomas Jackson, a voluminous writer of sermons and other theological works, and deserving, for his great learning and attainments, to be considered one of the English fathers of the Church, was born at Witton, in the county of Durham, in 1579. He was first a student of Queen's College, Oxford, in 1595, but elected a Scholar of C. C. C. in the following year, and Probationer Fellow thereof on the 10th of May, 1606, being then M.A.; at which time, Wood says, that "he had laid the grounds carefully, in arithmetic, grammar, philology, geometry, rhetoric, logic, philosophy, the Oriental languages, history, with an insight in heraldry and hieroglyphics, &c. All which, however, he made use of to serve either as rubbish under the foundation, or as drudges and day-labourers, to theology." In 1622 he proceeded D.D.; and soon after was made Vicar of St. Nicholas, in Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and at length elected President of C. C. C. (chiefly through the exertions of Archbishop Laud), Chaplain in ordinary to the King, Prebendary of Winchester, Vicar of Witney, in Oxfordshire, and Dean of Peterborough. Dr. Jackson died September 21st, 1640, in the sixty-first year of his age, and was buried in the chapel of his own College. Of a deep and penetrating judgment, and various and profound learning, none wrote with more

vigour and earnestness, against the Church of Rome, than he did. A complete collection of his works was published in three vols. folio, in 1672-3, with a Life of the Author prefixed. It is to be noted that the occasion of this poem was the reception of a copy of the Bible as a New Year's gift. (From Mr. Corser's Introduction to "*Iter Lancastrense*," as before, pp. lxvii-viii; after Bodleian MS.)

XI. WRITTEN IN RUSSIA, 1618.—See our Introduction on our Author's travels in Russia. From MS. No. 13.

XII. COMET SEEN IN RUSSIA.—*Ibid.*

XIII. AT MOSCOW.—*Ibid.*

XVIII. DR. JOHN FLEMING.—Mary, eldest daughter of Richard James and Jane Annernon, and sister to Dr. Thomas James, married Sir Thomas Fleming, Knt., of Stoneham, in the county of Southampton, Chief Justice of England, who died in 1613, by whom she had fifteen children, eight of whom survived their father. James's eldest brother, Andrew, also married Margaret, daughter and heiress of John Fleming, of Garcombe,—so that there was a double connection between these two families. Dr. John Fleming appears to have been the fourth son of the Chief Justice, and first cousin, by marriage, to James. (*Ibid.* p. lxix.)

XXI. AD LIBRUM, 1625.—From "*Ante-Possiveinus*, five Concio habita ad Clerum in Acad. Oxon. An. Dom. 1625. Authore Richardo Jamefis Socio C. C. C. Vectenfi. Oxon. 1625" (4°.) The text is 2 Timothy iv. 13.

XXII. SIR ROBERT COTTON.—From "*Epistola Thomæ Mori ad Academiam Oxon: cui adjecta sunt quædam*

Poemata in mortem Clarissimi Viri Roberti Cottoni et Thomæ." See our Introduction for James's relations with this renowned antiquary and fine old English gentleman.

XXIII. DE PUTEO SANCTI EDWARDI, &c.—*Ibid.* "Alleni. Oxon. 1633" (4°).

XXIV. THOMAS ALLEN.—*Ibid.* He was born at Uttoxeter in 1542; educated at Trinity College, Oxford; died, 1632. He was distinguished as a mathematician, and still more so as an 'Astrologer' when astrology was believed in. The Earl of Leicester wished to make him a bishop, but he never took orders. He was the friend of Camden, Spelman, Cotton, James, &c. Elias Ashmole edited some of his Works, *e.g.* 1. Claudii Ptolemei Pelus. de Astrorum judiciis aut ut vulgo vocant, quadripartitæ constructionis, Liber secundus, cum Expositione Th. Allen Angli-Oxonienfis. 2. Ejusdem Lib. Tertius. See Biogr. Brit. f. n. and Elias Ashmole.

A. B. G.

FINIS.



ERRATA.

DR. GROSART respectfully requests insertion in the volume of James's "Poems, &c.," of this errata-list, or correction in the places, of these few misprints overlooked by the printer and himself.

List of Subscribers, *read* Samuel R., *not* A., Gardiner.

Preface, page xii, line 29, *read* Falconer, *not* Frederick, Madan.

Introduction, page xlv, line 1, *read* Symonds, *not* Simon.

„ *ibid.* line 8, *read* Forster, *not* Foster, and so
elsewhere.

„ page l, line 11, *read* Oxoniæ; page lii, line 14, *read*
ἀπροφασίστως.

„ page liii, line 2, *read* Romani; line 6, *read* prote-
gente.

„ page lvi, head-line, *read* lvi for vi; and place ' (refe-
rence figure) after 'est.'

The following corrections of the late Mr. Corser's (as before) mis-
readings, are offered—his text having unfortunately been given as
copy to the printer:—

Introduction, page lvii, line 20, *read* edidit.

„ page lviii, line 9, query *havere* (= *avere*)?

„ page lxvi, line 9, *read* χθόνα ταρασσόντες πόρτιον τε ὕδαρ
κεινὰν παρὰ δαυταν. (Pindar, Olymp. ii. 113-116,
ed. Heyne.)

„ page lxvii, line 13, *read* ἐπινίμιον and ἀχλος and
ἐσχάτως; line 14, *read* ἀσάτου; line 20, *read*
γέγονε φεῦ ἐκείνος γυμνότερος ὑπέρου; line 22, *read* θήριον;
line 23, *read* λῆστα διώκτα, σκάρτις and μυριόκηντρε and τίγρις.

„ page lxviii, line 28, query—*misertus*?

Page 130, line 14, *read* urnā; page 268, note 7, *read* Shelton;
page 274, line 9, *read* alii.

If any others have escaped notice, printer and editor count on
charity, in consideration of the difficult MSS., &c. &c., and sympathy
with the editor's annoyance. It may be added, that since the issue
of the volume, Dr. Grosart has discovered at Port Eliot, among the
Sir John Eliot MSS., a holograph copy of the long letter on
"Affluination," &c. (so headed), and in Epithalamia Oxoniensia
Caroli et Mariæ, 1625, a short Latin poem wherein Chaucer, Occleve,
and Spenser are introduced.

